The Christian Century

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ARTICLES by Robert E. Fitch, Kermit Eby and Clair M. Cook

EDITORIALS on the H-Bomb and the Forgotten Issue

SIMEON STYLITES: 'The Fallen Angel'

OCTOBER 31, 1956

In This Issue

Robert E. Fitch
professor of Christian ethics and dean at Pacific School of Religion, was born in China, a third-generation member of a prominent Presbyterian missionary family. His article in this issue will recall to Century readers his "Intelligentsia in Defeat" which appeared shortly after the 1952 election.

Kermit Eby
a Church of the Brethren minister now teaching sociology at the University of Chicago, was formerly educational director for the C.I.O. He has contributed frequently to the pages of the Century. For further development of Mr. Eby's ideas on the status of the individual in the present tensions of American life, see his *The Paradoxes of Democracy*, just published by Association Press.

Clair M. Cook
is another name familiar to the Century's table of contents. To his post as associate director of the Religion and Labor Foundation Mr. Cook brought a wide experience in the fields concerned: pastoral service as a Methodist minister, years of work as a machinist and union member, study and research at Boston University school of theology, where his thesis for the Th.D. concerned the significance of Christian principles in an industrial society.

Albert C. Outler
is professor of theology at Southern Methodist University's Perkins school of theology.

James Gustafson
is instructor in social ethics at Yale Divinity School.

Samuel J. Wylie
is Episcopal chaplain at Brown University.

Federico J. Pagura
is pastor of Central Methodist Church in Rosario, Argentina's second-largest city. His report on his recent extended stay in Bolivia was translated by Tom Goslin, the Century's correspondent in Argentina.

R. O. C. King
is rector of St. George's Church, Kingston, B.W.I., and president of the Jamaica Christian Council.

Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 1251
- Bombs and Ballots 1253
- The Big Issue 1254
- Malik on Nasser 1255

Contributed Articles
- Politics in Christian Perspective, by Robert E. Fitch 1257
- Unsatisfying Choice, by Kermit Eby 1259
- Is There a 'Labor Vote'? by Clair M. Cook 1261

Simeon Stylites: 'The Fallen Angel' 1263

Books
- The Philosophy of the Church Fathers, Vol. I, by Harry A. Wolfson 1264
- Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology, by Pitirim A. Sorokin 1264
- St. Paul's in Its Glory, 1831-1911, by G. L. Prestige 1265

Correspondence 1265

News of the Christian World
- Richmond, Va. 1268
- Bolivia 1268
- England 1272
- The Carolinas 1274
- Jamaica 1276
- Chicago 1276
- Tuskegee, Ala. 1278
- New York city 1279

The Christian Century

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Coming Events

Oct. 30-Nov. 1. Evangelical and Reformed Commission on Christian Social Action–Congregational Christian Council for Social Action Joint Meeting, Cleveland.
Oct. 31-Nov. 1. Evangelical and Reformed Annual Conference of Synod Presidents, Cleveland.
Oct. 31-Nov. 2. College of the Bible Centennial Development Program Convocation, Lexington, Ky.
Nov. 1-30. Religion in American Life Month.
Nov. 2. World Community Day (National Council of Churches General Department of United Church Women).
Nov. 4. Chicago Sunday Evening Club (youth night); Elton Trueblood, speaker.
Nov. 4-9. N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission Radio and Television Workshop, Charleston, W. Va.
Nov. 4-9. United Lutheran Area Evangelism Missions, Zanesville–Columbus, Ohio; Lubbock, Amarillo, Libscomb, Darrouzette, Tex.; Spokane, Wash.; Edmonton, Alta.
Nov. 5. Union Theological Seminary 9th Annual Auburn Extension Lectures, New York city; theme: "Regeneration and Conversion"; John Baillie, speaker.
Nov. 6-8. Central Baptist Theological Seminary Urban Church Emphasis Week, Kansas City, Kan.
Nov. 9-12. National Conference on Clinical Pastoral Education, Atlantic City, N. J.
Nov. 9-13. Church of the Brethren General Brotherhood Board, Elgin, Ill.
Nov. 11. United Church Canvass Sunday.
Nov. 11. Freedom of the Press Sunday (Universalist-Unitarian churches).
Nov. 11. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Eugene Carson Blake, speaker.
Nov. 11-16. N.C.C. Broadcasting and Film Commission Radio and Television Workshop, Memphis, Tenn.
Nov. 11-16. United Lutheran Area Evangelism Missions, Camden, N. J.; Greenville, S. C.; Houston, Tex.; Steeleville, Ill.; Tidewater, Va.
Nov. 11-17. American Education Week.
Nov. 12. Union Theological Seminary 9th Annual Auburn Extension Lectures, New York city; theme: "Regeneration and Conversion"; John Baillie, speaker.
Nov. 12-14. Crozer Theological Seminary–Roger Williams Fellowship Conference on "Christian Missions—New Frontiers for Thought and Action," Chester, Pa.; George W. Davis, Kenneth L. Smith, Douglas Steere, Anna Canada Swain, speakers.
Nov. 13. New York Institute for Religious and Social Studies, Jewish Theological Seminary of America; themes: "The Solution of Practical and Moral Problems Through the Use of Reason," "Vocational Ethics," "The Most Momentous Questions in the World Today"; speakers: Thomas I. Emerson (civil liberties), Victor G. Reuther (labor), Jacob B. Agus (scientific thinking and religion).
Nov. 13-16. Asbury Theological Seminary George and Elizabeth Freitas Lectures in Applied Theology, Wilmore, Ky.; Frank B. Stanger, speaker.
Nov. 14. Japan International Christian University Foundation Women's Planning Committee Annual Luncheon, New York city.
Nov. 14. Bucknell University–Parish Ministers Area Ministerial Seminar on "The Church in Action," Lewisburg, Pa.; Kenneth E. Nye, speaker.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXXIII CHICAGO, OCTOBER 31, 1956 NUMBER 44

EDITORIAL

Do Americans Really Believe in Education?

BY WHITE HOUSE proclamation, November 11 to 17 is American Education Week. The general theme of the 1956 celebration is "Schools for a Strong America." In view of the existing shortages of trained manpower, the claims of our educational enterprises certainly deserve serious consideration. The help-wanted columns in most of our metropolitan newspapers, the double-shift schools in many parts of the nation, the spectacular offenses of our juvenile delinquents are adequate evidence of the need. Yet most Americans are reluctant to tax themselves for education. Wealthy communities—Peoria, Illinois, for instance—vote repeatedly against modest increases in the school tax rate. Hundreds of congressmen feel little pressure for federal grants in aid of the schools in the poorer sections of the country. Many newspaper publishers continue to exaggerate the need for cutting ordinary government expenses and to proclaim as sacrosant our vast military expenditures, when a reversal of this order is what is needed. Some corporation executives have awakened to the precariousness of our educational work, but to date corporate gifts to the schools have constituted hardly more than a drop in the bucket, and the chamber-of-commerce type of resistance to school taxes has abated only slightly. The net result is that in recent years the educational part of the American dollar has continued to shrink. We still spend far more for alcoholic beverages than we do for the schools. As the late Professor Henry Stuart used to say, a person's sense of values is revealed in the way he spends his money. A nation's sense of values is revealed in the same way. There is little evidence that most Americans really believe that education is essential to the strength of America.

Biggest Tests of Schools Lie in Future

THE EDUCATIONAL CRISIS in the United States has many dimensions. The most obvious is geographical. The low-income states have the poorest teachers and the poorest facilities, despite the fact that their tax rates in relation to income are higher than those of other states. A second dimension is social. The low-income groups, particularly Negroes, Indians and the Spanish-speaking minority, are undereducated at all levels; and the brighter young people from these groups still have inadequate opportunities for higher education. A third dimension is intellectual. The United States is producing men and women who have technical know-how. We are dissatisfied with the number of engineers, accountants and psychologists, but there is no doubt about the fact that our schools can turn out excellent practicing technicians. What is yet to be determined is whether the American system can develop its quota of basic researchers. The theoretical work that made possible the atomic bomb was largely done in Europe. Much of the fundamental theory underlying recent advances in medicine was thought out by Europeans. In social and political theory Americans are still exploiting insights that were largely "made in Europe." The ultimate testing of our schools as producers of theorists is probably coming in the next generation, and there is reason to believe that we shall not be as outstanding in the intellectual dimension as we are in technical know-how. A fourth dimension of the educational crisis is spiritual. We do not accept David Riesman's theory about the "lonely crowd." As we understand the Bible and ancient history, there have always been a great many timid and herd-minded people. But the possible consequences of herd-mindedness in an age of rapid transportation and mass communication are more dangerous than was the case in an age dominated by local community life. The intimidation of school boards by U.N.-hating isolationists is impeding the efforts of educators to accustom children to the rigors and complexities of the world today. The political exploitation of the national security problem is sapping the sources of courage in the immature. The believers in education must work on all fronts in the educational crisis. Our problem is not merely financial: it is also intellectual and spiritual.

Advertising and Materialism

IN THIS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, advertising techniques have played a larger role than in any previous contest. Advertising is now one of our major industries. According to *Printers' Ink*, the total expenditures are of the order of $10 billion a year. The chief purpose of advertising is to create wants—wants for the particular product that the advertiser is selling and wants for the kind of thing that is being sold. No more efficient system has ever been devised for making men and women "materialistic." It is said that the progress of our economic system requires that more people want more things and more services. The work of want-creation goes on seven days per week. It is done by some of the most clever and intelligent members of society. Then, on every third or

fourth Sunday, the targets of advertising go to church and hear sermons about not living by bread alone. They sing a hymn on the theme of sacrifice and they pray that they may avoid covetousness. Here is a problem for the ablest theologians and philosophers. If the main effort of a major industry is to create wants, is the talk about controlling wants a mere escape mechanism? The solution to the problem is scarcely to be found in advertising campaigns in behalf of the doctrine of sacrifice. That would be like incessant preaching of the values of silent meditation. If silence is important, those who believe in silence must be silent. If freedom from enslavement to desires is important, an example will be more effective than cleverness in enslaving men to a desire to be free. In this paradoxical conclusion may be a hint of the true solution. The true solution may not call for resistance to advertising insofar as advertising is creating desires and interests. It may rather be in the development of a perspective, a view of the whole of life, which will enable a person to multiply his interests without becoming a slave to any one of them. The increasing variety of goods and services can be the condition that makes possible more discriminating choices. But this can happen only to those who have an integrity of personality, who can love without lust, who can appreciate without obsession, who can desire without anxiety.

Polls Useful But Not Decisive

IMMEDIATELY prior to every important election there is keen interest in the reports of the Gallup, Roper and other opinion-polling organizations. The candidates' interest is understandable. The polls tell them, in a rough way, where they should concentrate their last-minute efforts. For the voters also the polls may be interesting, but we doubt that the polls can ever tell the voters how they *ought* to vote. At best, even when they are accurate forecasts of the balloting, the polls merely reveal the judgments of other men. They do not determine whether those judgments are sound or whether the judgments of the majority are based on adequate information. Remembering the many rogues and weaklings who have been elected to public office in the past, we should say that since the majority has often been mistaken in its estimates of candidates, their competence and the likelihood of their performing what they promise, its leanings are interesting but not necessarily impressive. Opinion polls, reporting the popularity of candidates, appeal to the band-wagon sentiment, a strong influence in this "other-directed" age. They also appeal to the desire for certainty. Within rather narrow limits they present information that seems to be verifiable. It is verifiable that, as of November 1, a given percentage of the voters favored Mr. X, whereas, as of November 1, no one really knew whether Mr. X would be a good and dependable president, congressman or governor. But it is the latter question which should be answered in the voting booth. However meager the evidence, it is the evidence of the candidate's qualifications that should determine the ballot, not his momentary popularity. In deprecating the moral authority of opinion polls we do not say that they are never useful. They serve the candidates and help weigh public sentiment on issues. Since the voters seldom have an opportunity to register preferences on issues, polling organizations perform a valuable service in giving expression to the public's reaction to various foreign policies, tax measures, and so on. But they should not be the decisive factor in choosing among candidates.

United Lutherans Solace Foes of Supreme Court

BY A VOTE of 340 to 159, delegates to the twentieth biennial convention of the United Lutheran Church refused to endorse the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in the public schools. So far as we have been able to learn, this is the first such action by a major denomination or religious body. Both the Southern Baptist Convention and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., did what the United Lutherans refused to do; that is, to hail the high court's decision as being "in harmony with Christian convictions." What caused the one denomination of Lutherans that might have been expected to be most sensitive to Christian responsibility for right ethical judgments to act in this manner? It was not the influence of President Franklin Clark Fry, for that outspoken churchman demanded that the minutes of the session formally record his opposition to the action which had been taken. It was not the influence of the National Council of Churches, whose recent statement that the Supreme Court decision had "given clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle" was cited in the debate. Rather it seems to have been a combination of conservatives who considered that the church has no business to judge governmental activities and southerners who wanted to judge this particular action unfavorably. So the conservatives, seeking to avoid sinful involvement in the ways of the world, managed to involve themselves and their church in highly dubious associations and in a judgment which many good Christians consider fundamentally wrong. By the time two years have passed, we predict, many of them will be ready to repudiate the position of some of the southern delegates, whose arguments at the biennial convention came very close to substituting sectional prejudice and unscientific anthropology for Christian brotherhood and the word of God.

It's 'Bishop' Again For Ordass

THE CASE of Bishop Lajos Ordass has now run full circle. Lutheran World Federation headquarters in Geneva has been informed by Hungary's office of church affairs that the Lutheran prelate has at last been "exonerated from all guilt" by both state *and* church. The action, fruit of negotiations carried on by federation officials during the World Council of Churches meeting in Hungary last summer (see the Century for August 29), brings to an end the persecution that courageous Lajos Ordass has suffered since 1948, when after taking a strong stand against the state's encroachment on church affairs he was convicted by the nation's supreme court of "foreign currency manipulation"—a patently trumped-up charge—and sentenced to two years in prison. His own church fell

into line, and in 1950 divested him of his ecclesiastical rights. Some weeks ago the supreme court found the currency manipulation charge false and annulled its 1948 decision. Now the church has again followed the lead of the state and ruled *its* previous ruling "invalid." Reinstated as bishop, Ordass resigned that office pending clarification of his future. Designated a "bishop in retirement," he has been offered a professorship in the Lutheran Theological Faculty in Budapest, and is at liberty to preach from any pulpit in the land. He used this liberty on October 14, when he preached his first sermon in eight years. There is also some reason to hope that a number of pastors who were forced to leave their pulpits in 1950 for refusing to obey the church's ruling against Bishop Ordass and declaring their loyalty to him will be rehabilitated. The exoneration of Bishop Ordass is the best evidence we have yet seen that the ideological thaw behind the iron curtain has penetrated church as well as state. And it reproves the critics who said last summer that the World Council of Churches was playing into the hands of the communists when it took its central committee to meet in Hungary.

Bombs and Ballots

TWO WEEKS before the election, it seemed likely the 1956 campaign would end in inconclusive bitterness. Two factors contributed to the sudden turn for the worse of a contest which started with both sides determined to raise the discussion above the low level of 1952. The first was the realization by the public that it did not have and could not gain access to the facts which it has to have to render a wise judgment on the issue of H-bomb testing, which Adlai E. Stevenson had introduced in the campaign. The second was the inflammatory attempt by Premier Bulganin of Russia to press a proposal which had become involved in partisan politics, plus the merited rebuke administered Bulganin by President Eisenhower. Together these added up to worsened international relations and further exacerbation of the already strained relations between candidates and parties.

Opinions will differ, but we hold that Mr. Stevenson rendered a public service in advocating cessation of further H-bomb test explosions, at least until we see whether our example in this regard is followed by other nations. We can positively know, according to nuclear scientists, whether such nuclear testing is continuing. If a nuclear explosion occurs anywhere in the world, our scientists know when and where it takes place and at least some of the facts concerning its nature. If we discover that either Russia or Britain—the only nuclear powers in addition to the United States—is not keeping the agreement, our liberty of action would be restored. Ending the tests would put a stop to the cumulative menace to human survival on the planet from radioactive substances thrown into the air from nuclear blasts. It could constitute a positive contribution to disarmament.

Many scientists rallied to Mr. Stevenson's support. Independent statements from nuclear scientists came from California Institute of Technology, Columbia and Washington universities. At the Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago 29 physicists, 34 chemists, two engineers, five metallurgists and a biologist joined in a statement favoring suspension of nuclear test explosions. They gave five reasons for agreeing with Stevenson: A nuclear ban on our part might (1) break the arms control deadlock, (2) decrease U. S. exposure to radioactive fallout, (3) postpone the spread of experimentation to states not now having nuclear weapons, (4) increase our prestige in western Europe and (5) provide an important test of Russian intentions.

The statement said in part: "Our military establishment is becoming more and more dependent upon nuclear weaponry and the time will soon be upon us when even a limited military action must inevitably drive us into nuclear war." In addition, 62 scientists at the Brookhaven National Laboratory on Long Island urged a new study of the "hazard to the present generation of strontium 90" —the deadly isotope produced by the testing of hydrogen bombs.

Senator Anderson, Democrat of New Mexico, chairman of the joint committee on atomic energy of Congress, entered the discussion on Stevenson's side by saying the U. S. now has "many times the number of H-bombs needed to destroy the earth." He said further test explosions "teach us nothing and . . . they imperil future generations." Statements by other atomic scientists, some American and others British, over recent years have indicated that nuclear blasts throw into the air, where it remains for decades, radioactive material which is already bringing genetic and somatic damage to men and will increase in harmful effect with each succesive explosion. Such men stress the feasibility and urgency of worldwide cessation of H-bomb detonations.

I

But this is not the whole story, and because it is not the whole story, the debate must turn in a direction not given it by either presidential candidate. President Eisenhower's position was endorsed by twelve distinguished atomic scientists, who agreed with him in calling for continued nuclear testing until a disarmament agreement, including inspection, can be reached with Russia. The President said this would be his last word, but when Mr. Stevenson pressed the point and many scientists rallied to his support, the President called on Chairman Lewis A. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission, who is no scientist, to prepare a white paper on the matter. Unfortunately Mr. Strauss' conduct in the Dixon-Yates dispute and in other arguments involving political issues had raised serious doubts concerning his objectivity in a partisan dispute. The A.E.C. report has not appeared as this is written, but it does not seem likely that it will sweep away all doubt on the momentous issue which has exploded in the campaign.

Where does this leave the discussion? Stevenson says ending the tests would not hinder weapons research and development. The President says ending the tests would cause a serious lag. Both sides have produced opinions but to date neither side has produced scientific facts to support its assertions. The public does not know enough about the issue to judge the facts if they were presented.

A law passed soon after the atomic age began prevents the public from gaining such knowledge. The law was intended to keep from Russia the secret of how to make atomic and nuclear weapons. It failed in that purpose, and now serves only to keep from the American people knowledge we need so that we may try to cope with the problem of survival in an age like this.

II

The issue therefore is truth—the right of the people to know. A fortnight before the election the people were having to decide between the President, who took the line that this subject should not be discussed, and the Democratic candidate, who said ending the tests would not weaken our deterrent strength. We were asked to determine which of differing opinions among scientists is correct. We were and are helpless to make such a decision, and debate on it is bound to be fruitless until Congress revises the Atomic Energy act so that the people may know. The people have no right to criticize the President or the Atomic Energy Commission for not revealing information which is bottled up by a law which should have been revised long ago.

In this confused situation the publication of the Bulganin letter to President Eisenhower proposing an immediate U. S.–Soviet agreement to ban H-bomb explosions created the maximum amount of mischief, as it was probably intended to do. The Russian premier released the letter for publication without notifying the President—a discourtesy which stamped the letter as an exercise in propaganda. Why did he do it? Perhaps because the Russians are still smarting from the publication by our state department of the text of the Khrushchev secret address advocating the repudiation of Stalin and his policies. The revelations contained in that address have played an important part in the present drive for independence in Poland and have given rise to violent unrest in other satellite states. Perhaps the Russians are trying to give us some of our own medicine. In any event, Bulganin's public offer amounted to taking sides in what was until that time a domestic political argument in the United States. President Eisenhower's repudiation of the offer as "interference by a foreign nation in our internal affairs" constituted a justified rebuke. Unfortunately it did little to help the American people to make the decision we will have to make sooner or later.

Instead it probably will make it more difficult for us to think rationally, since the charge will now be made that advocacy of an H-bomb ban plays into the hands of the Russians. Millions of our citizens are so conditioned that they automatically oppose anything the Russians are known to favor. Thus Bulganin may have hoped to kill Stevenson's suggestion. The President did not and will not say that his opponent was motivated by anything except patriotism in urging the ban on test explosions. But others can be counted on not to scruple, and to mix international bitterness with internal partisanship in a witches' broth of suspicion and ill will.

In this situation, it will require cool heads and resolute wills to sort out the factors which should govern our behavior. We will have to start by recognizing that world thermonuclear war must forever be banned from consideration, since it would mean the end of life on this planet. Both candidates agree that peace is the only possible policy. Since that is accepted, some means will have to be found to stop the manufacture as well as the testing of thermonuclear weapons and to divert to peacetime uses the awful energies now within our control. In our opinion, this diversion should go forward as rapidly as possible regardless of when a ban on H-bomb testing becomes feasible.

We believe with Mr. Stevenson that such a ban, with or without agreement with Russia and Britain, is feasible now. Although we have no more information than anybody else, in our opinion we are justified in taking a chance that such action would break the disarmament deadlock. In any event, the next Congress should be urged to give the people the truth. Secrecy does not handicap the Russians but only hobbles the American people. Our present policy involves fearful risks. It is time for a change in that policy.

The Big Issue

THE MOST vital question before us receives little attention: how we shall conduct our relations with the rest of the world, including Russia. This question ought to be debated more than any other, for its answer affects our farm policy, our conservation and natural resources policy, our educational policy, our defense policy and nearly everything else we touch. The salient characteristic of a large share of the world outside our borders is its failure, in spite of long efforts, to break through its encirclement of economic privation. Most of the world is poorer today than it was in 1900. Russia claims to have an answer for the underdeveloped areas: Industrialize as she is doing, with tyranny and terror. Our chief answer to the world's need has been to raise our military defenses. The Friends Committee on National Legislation points out that only 22 cents of every tax dollar goes for nonmilitary purposes. We spend 69.8 per cent of all government outlays for military preparations and 8.1 per cent for paying the debts of past wars. Foreign aid other than military assistance and support of the United Nations—the kind of aid the world seeks—takes less than 2 cents of our tax dollar.

I

If it is said that we have spent $50 billion on foreign aid since the end of World War II, the answer is (1) that a good share has been foreign military assistance, gaining allies for the cold war; (2) that grants have been made without our having a long-term policy for world economic development and so have been largely ineffective; (3) that during this time we were probably pouring out ten times as much for military preparations which in an economic sense may be insurance but otherwise is pure waste. The sad result is that, with the notable exception of Marshall plan success in Europe, the economies of the free world are barely keeping pace with the increase of population. Meanwhile our people are growing weary of a policy which consists chiefly of meeting immediate crises, damping down wars we have not the foresight to anticipate,

and giving each new handout with increasing reluctance and bitter arguments that corrode the possibility of real international cooperation.

Neither party has anything but a defensive attitude toward world economic development or any real plan for meeting the communist economic offensive. The presidential candidates have touched peripheral issues. President Eisenhower proposed three years ago the distribution of atomic energy matter to nations which would agree to use it exclusively for peaceable purposes. The international conference called to prepare agreements to make this possible is about to conclude its first meeting. It has brought together 85 nations, Russia among them, and seems to have agreed on a procedure. That represents a major—perhaps an epochal—achievement.

Mr. Stevenson has touched the matter at another point. He seeks to divert this new source of energy from wartime to peacetime uses. He has proposed banning test explosions of nuclear weapons and reconsidering conscription. While his proposals have been attacked by the President as uninformed and unwise, we are persuaded that such a ban would not endanger the United States militarily, would remove a threat to the survival of the race, and might begin the process of disarmament.

Among the notable atomic scientists who have come to Mr. Stevenson's support is Thomas E. Murray, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission. On September 21 Commissioner Murray said he believed the big thermonuclear weapons we now have are big enough for any conceivable military purpose. "They are also so big," he added, "that their use in large number would raise both medical and moral problems, chiefly by reason of the resultant worldwide contamination by radioactive substances. . . . We should discontinue the testing of multimegaton weapons; such tests are no longer necessary. We should not only continue but intensify the testing of smaller weapons; such tests are still necessary."

II

Which of the two parties can best contribute to world economic development? It is impossible to say. The voter who is primarily concerned with this question will have to vote for men and so "split his ticket." In so doing he will take as his guiding principle the need to prepare the American people to make their maximum contribution, spiritually and materially, to the peaceable development of mankind. The leaders we choose will not be chosen for war: it is inconceivable that any President, any party, will ever ask the United States to commit suicide in order to carry into extinction with us another nation or group of nations. They will be chosen to rouse the American people to the immense, high and enormously difficult mission that only we can carry out—a mission that will command all our vision, all the energies available in the atom, all the nobility of character of which men are capable when led, illumined and disciplined by the spirit of God.

Through this campaign and in the years before The Christian Century has tried to interpret events and policies independently and without partisan bias. Aside from this record, we make no endorsement of a presidential candidate. Our readers are as capable as any group in the country of making up their own minds. Like ourselves, they will go to the polls and vote, using their secret ballot in fear and hope, to the greater glory of the God of all the earth.

Malik on Nasser

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

Beirut (Delayed in transit).

LEBANON is the loveliest land of all. After the neutral tan monotony of Jordanian and Syrian deserts and hills comes a ring of mountains circling off a little green country between the range and the sea. Halfway along the coast lies fascinating, international Beirut, the one place in the world away from home where the American or west European is most immediately at home. And near the center of the beautiful city on the lovely shore of the shimmering eastern Mediterranean lies what must be the most beautiful campus in the world—the American University of Beirut, which stretches along the leafy crest of a cliff falling steeply to the sea.

What is more important is that this university standing among all the pines and the palms and the improbable purple flowers beside the gleaming sea is a superbly equipped Christian university which dispenses first-rate education. On the third floor of old Dodge Hall, in the middle of the campus, a Christian scholar and world diplomat has his office—Charles Malik, new dean of graduate studies at A.U.B. Because he is just moving in, his big workrooms are still pretty bare except for the abounding books already spilling out of the shelves on hand. But the flowering world and the luminous Mediterranean just outside the windows fill the rooms with glory.

Here it is, in the company of great wisdom and experience, that the continuing Middle Eastern crisis begins to come into focus. Partly it is Dr. Malik's own vigorous speech that straightens things out; partly it is his eloquent silences after he has elicited your most careful reflections. But one way or another you begin to see that the serious question is not the expeditious resolution of specific crises —the Suez, Israel—but the determination of what the character, the nature, the orientation, the place of the Middle East shall be in the world.

I

For better or for worse, this determination now revolves around the figure of Gamal Abdel Nasser. But so far no one in public life has put his finger on just what it is about Nasser that sets the problem for the world. It is not just that he is a dictator, that we must worry about his role in world history: Western nations have no trouble getting along very nicely with several current dictators. It is not just his demagoguery that bothers us: we are harnessed quite peaceably with other rabble-rousers. It is not just the foolish and provocative character of his Suez action which miffs other governments: their own foolish and provocative actions triggered the Egyptian's decision. Neither is it the person or personality of Nasser that is the problem. For all the English and French comparisons with Adolf Hitler, the fact is that the character of Nasser cannot be cut down to fit that category of degradation. Nasser is,

on the testimony of one who knows him better than most commentators do, completely honest, sincere, honorable, and is evidently incorruptible. The trouble for the world does not lie in this man's character. The trouble is that this resourceful soldier-patriot is a completely inexperienced provincial suddenly making national policy in a world which he simply does not know.

Nasser has a total blind spot as concerns the West. All that we think significant and important could go up in smoke tomorrow, and he couldn't care less. Paris, Rome, London, Athens; the literature, art and philosophy which have blossomed from freedoms of thought and conscience —all this could be blasted to rubble without causing a ripple in Nasser's peace of mind. The very things, values, qualities, ideals that are essential to us, are largely irrelevant to him. He is concerned only for Egypt and her environs. He would purify his nation, remove from it the taint of the world he doesn't really know. In the area thus reconsecrated he would make a Muslim state. This is what he calls helping Egypt rediscover its "national personality." There was, therefore, never any real problem for Nasser in accepting Russia's help. Men and nations who hesitate about any reliance on Russia are really shrinking in a kind of horror before what that nation did to freedom and its allied values along the way of its progress. But it is just these values to which Nasser, unlike Nehru of India, is utterly indifferent. As a matter of fact, one of the things he undoubtedly admires about Russia is the way, without moral squeamishness, she gets things done, goes her own way.

II

Despite the ruckus it is raising, then, the Suez problem is a fairly superficial complication. The real issue is whether the world we live in dares let develop a whole region which is so vigorously negative on all that we think important. Neither German fascism nor Russian communism could be as negative as this Nasser nationalism might be. The European transvaluation always had to keep at least bowing acquaintance with the old values. But in and around Egypt now we are faced with the prospect of a whole power bloc developing which might dismiss out of hand every lodestar of our civilization and of our self-understanding.

Solutions are hard to talk about, harder to see. It is difficult to rule out military measures as extreme eventualities in issues of such ultimate importance—at least, diplomats trained in the service of the world do not lightly dismiss the possibility. But obviously much broader action is necessary. If a dictator inimical to the all-important cannot be brought down without bringing down the world, then perhaps the dictator can be educated. Maybe it is to this that we shall have to turn our immediate attentions and energies. Not to some of the mighty works that now seem so out of the question. Hard as it may be to speak of it now, might there not be a time when it would be good to volunteer as a concerned nation the help once snatched back from the Aswan dam? Have we done all we could to press the Jordan valley development projects? How about the Litani project? Could we not take another look at the vast irrigation projects talked about before for Syria and Iraq?

Once upon a time the West was responsible for the Middle East and its economic and social progress. It evidently did not do well enough with the decades given it so that the worth of its precious values was conspicuous or unavoidable. Now the peoples are making themselves responsible for themselves; so we can work with them, if we will, only as friends and partners, hoping that it is not too late to demonstrate in deeds the worth of those values for which in the years of our ascendancy we left them no feeling at all.

And we should be supporting and prospering, as never before, the educational institutions for which we are responsible in the Middle East. The American University of Cairo, the American University of Beirut—these and other schools can hold up, if not before Nasser then before the men and women upon whom the Arab people must depend for governing their lands, "the supreme importance not only of the political categories of glory and power and unity, not only of raising the standard of living of the masses, but of real freedom of thought and conscience, of light, of truth and of joy."

The trouble is that the right way is always so slow and the wrong things happen so fast. Over at the big International Fair at Damascus, veiled ladies walked mob-pressed miles gawking at mighty industrial equipment. I couldn't imagine what they could get out of great machines that were sealed mysteries to Western me, but they carefully took them all in. It was heavy going, though. Most care had been given their exhibits by Russia and its satellites, but there was not much light or lift in the ponderous industrial equipment they all featured. Bulgaria tried for effect with a theme statue just inside its front door, but the fat lady with grain and pudgy man with a wrench must have been a bore even to the most unimaginative. The only frivolity in that pavilion, by the way, was some rose perfume. And that came by the gallon. The second most popular exhibit I saw was in the Saudi Arabian hall, where American engineers had set up a monstrous model of the oil installations in the desert kingdom. But what got the people was a very modest Lionel train running around a short track in part of the model. I suppose a million American children have fancier electric trains rusting in the basement, but this was enough to excite and captivate crowds over here.

But the little train was only the second most popular attraction. First honors go to no planned entry at all, but to the young fellow who appeared on the steps of the Egyptian pavilion the middle of the afternoon, distributing rotogravure pictures of Nasser. He was mobbed. Hour after hour he was mobbed. People by the thousands and tens of thousands snatched at the pictures, grabbed, waved. Children got nowhere; clamoring adults, jack-booted Syrian soldiers kept forcing in, forcing in. More and more boxes of the pictures were hauled out and broken open, but there was no end to the demand. Nasser, Nasser, Nasser. It was something to remember a few hours later, listening to Beirut pianist Anis Fuleihan play the Schumann concerto with the Vienna Symphony Orchestra before a rapt and largely Christian audience. In the very midst of the marvel and the beauty I kept wondering if that nondescript young man had run out of pictures of Nasser yet.

T.A.G.

Politics in Christian Perspective

By Robert E. Fitch

ONE OF the difficult responsibilities of the Christian citizen is that of bearing his share in party politics, and yet doing so from a Christian rather than a secular perspective. By this time we must be aware that, besides a Communist party line, there is also a Republican party line, a Democratic party line, a conservative party line, a liberal party line. The "party line" consists of the formulas and shibboleths to which the true believer gives unquestioning assent. The easiest thing to do is to swallow the line entire, along with hook and sinker, and then to advertise the experience as a fresh apprehension of Christian truth.

Historic Theologico-Political Correlations

The whole issue is complicated by the fact that, much more than we realize, there are affirmations in theology which seem naturally to lead to certain partisan convictions in politics. One of the historic correlations was between orthodoxy in theology and classical liberalism in economics. The emphasis on personal salvation fitted in with the faith in the free enterprise of the individual. The doctrine of vocation found its fulfillment in the pursuit of profit. The belief in a spiritual elite was paralleled by the belief in a secular elite of capitalists. The concentration on the immortality of the soul at least allowed room for some kind of secular utopianism. The doctrine of the depravity of man was compatible with a faith in the redemptive character of economic activity. And the belief in Providence found expression in the belief in the pre-established harmony which, like a hidden hand, guided a free enterprise economy to its consummation.

For most of the American people from the end of the Civil War until 1932 this indicated a pre-established harmony between theology and party politics which plainly commanded: Vote Republican!

Existential Tizzies Produce Utopianism

There is however another pattern of correlation—more suited to the existential tizzies of the modern temperament—which puts theology and party politics in dialectical tension and prescribes that in the one area you believe the exact opposite of what you believe in the other. This is found in the more recent alliance between theological neo-orthodoxy and political neoliberalism. A doctrine of the radical sinfulness of man is associated with a political program which stresses man's dignity and goodness. A revived emphasis on eschatology in religion is linked with a secular utopianism which talks of full employment and a just and lasting peace. The recovery of the realization that man's deepest liberty and security are spiritual in kind is linked with a passion for civil liberties and even for freedom from want and freedom from fear on the earthly plane. And a vigorous assault on pride of intellect in theology is combined with an extraordinary extension of the role of reason as omnicompetent planner in the social sphere.

This dialectical tension between theology and party politics told many Americans to vote Socialist or New Deal Democratic.

There are other historic combinations that could be cited. Here let me remark only that, in terms of the problem under discussion, we ought to have a bias in favor of the pattern of tension rather than the pattern of harmony. When there is a one-to-one correlation between beliefs in theology and beliefs in politics, the possibility of using the first as a leverage for criticism of the second simply disappears, and we are inescapably mired in religious and secular complacency. Ideally the pattern of tension should encourage a theological critique of political prejudices. Actually what it seems to have done most of the time is simply to separate the two spheres of belief from each other, so that the right hand of theology never really understood what the left hand of political action was doing. Indeed the evidence is overwhelming that, when it comes to eager and uncritical gulping of the secular party line, the prophets of tension are no better off than the priests of harmony.

Transcending the Party Line

While our inquiry up to this point does not solve any problem, it does help to define the problem more sharply. Surely we are in error if we think that our main business is to exhort the Christian citizen to assume his duties as a citizen, to take part in party politics, to study the issues and then to vote. That he will do this much we ought to be able to take for granted. The critical issue lies not in his participation in politics but in his transcendence over it, not in conviction but in humility, not in commitment but in retaining the capacity for criticism.

It can be painful to many of us to look back on history and see how in the past we have failed in Christian transcendence to the shibboleths of a party line. In the 1930s a certain number of Protestant Christians, including this one, were ardent members of the American Socialist party. That particular party line prescribed a righteous indignation against Republican reaction, but also a high-minded contempt for the whole program of the Democratic New Deal as a mere palliative for the wrongs of capitalism which would ensure the longer continuance of the evils of "the system." It was not until the Munich pact, or not until our actual entry into World War II, that we yanked ourselves loose from our ancient loyalties. And then it was not because of any disillusionment with the adequacy of the Socialist party line, but simply because a new issue diverted our attention. Looking back now, we can at last appreciate that the Democratic New Deal which we so heartily despised was getting done exactly what we really wanted to have done.

A more recent example of failure in critical transcendence was the way the avowed Christian liberal responded to the candidacy of Eisenhower in 1952. We may ignore the fact that in 1948 many of these same liberals were

looking to Ike as the great hope of the Democratic party. In 1952, however, they readily mouthed the party line. One big item in this was the assertion that, because Eisenhower was a military man, he must therefore be a militar*ist*. Yet if there has been anything clear about his public leadership from NATO days down to the present, it is his inordinate passion for peace. If there is any one goal that lies closest to his heart it is precisely this goal of peace; and if there is any impulse that prompts him to continue in office for another term it is the hope, however fond it may be, that he can do something to establish the foundations of a peaceable society in the world.

Both on this point and on the score of his essential liberalism with respect to humanitarian issues, the party line of the opposition was completely mistaken. It is not necessary to argue the point. One can go through the editorial pages of any number of liberal journals, both Christian and secular, during the past four years and read the recantations of the editors.

Operation of the Taft–Hartley Law

The most extravagant instance of the uncritical acceptance of a party line, however, has been the ready belief in and reiteration of the doctrine that the Taft–Hartley law is a "slave-labor law." It happens that, shortly after its enactment, I took part in a small university seminar on that law, at which were present economists, lawyers, corporation executives, and also Johnnie Despol and Lloyd Mashburn, who are now at the head of the A.F.L.–C.I.O. in California. While I could see then that the law had some discriminating insults for labor, see also that it put a curb on certain forms of racketeering in organized labor, see that it had one little provision which might conceivably be used for breaking the unions, still I could not then see and have never since been able to see in what sense it might be termed a "slave-labor law."

The simple fact is that, during the long operation of the Taft–Hartley law, first under a Democratic and then under a Republican administration, it has not been exploited to enslave anybody. On the contrary, the period of the law's prevalence has been a period of the enormous growth in strength of American labor—with respect to organization, to real wages, to the power to bargain collectively and to achieve its just demands. But the Christian liberal, whose party line tells him that any restriction on labor is iniquitous (just as any restriction on capital is beneficent), will hold firmly to the conviction that a Taft–Hartley law is a slave law even though nothing in either its theory or its application warrants such a conclusion.

The Question of Integration

The fetish worship of organized labor in this party line, however, is of trifling importance compared with the almost total absence of any emphasis on the rights of the Negro in what might be called the party line of the social gospel. From Walter Rauschenbusch's writings down through Harry Ward's there is almost no discussion of that issue. Being concerned with a radical reconstruction of the entire social order, one had little time to focus on a particular malady in a part of the body politic. It is true that the Quakers have never forgotten their responsibility in this area. But it is also true that the main body of Quaker tradition was conservative with respect to the political and economic revolution contemplated by the apostles of the social gospel. Certainly the Negro was warmly welcomed as a participant in the program of this gospel, both in its classic and in its neo-orthodox forms. But there was never any frank confrontation of the possibility that the moment might come when attention to his clamant needs would have to take precedence over the rest of the schedule.

That moment is surely at hand. It is true that both pairs of leaders in both parties have made clear their stand on this issue in a way to commend themselves to a Christian conscience. But I find it ironic that the only one to commit himself explicitly to the defense of the Negro in his speech of acceptance was the man whom the liberal party line requires us to loathe—the Quaker Richard Nixon.

Doubtless it can be said that the overwhelming sentiment of the nation is that we should proceed with moderation in this business. But we had better make sure that it is moderation forward and not moderation backward. And even with some doubts about my own righteousness, I find myself dismayed by the number of Christians who, on this issue, refuse to be troubled with any rigorous examination of the mechanics of political leadership in the House or in the Senate, refuse even to acknowledge that a probability of progress or of defeat for desegregation may be remotely related to the preponderant power of either political party. If they are conservatives or if they are liberals, they know in what direction the party line points; nor do they mean to be diverted from any ancient allegiance by the solicitations of any suffering servants of the Lord in color.

The Need for Irreverence

Let me now say to the reader what I say to my scandalized opponents and to my troubled friends, that as of this moment I am a registered Republican, but an irreverent one. And there is just enough secular superciliousness left in my bones to wish that I knew a few more Democrats who are also irreverent—irreverent in particular about the claim of the Democratic party to be the historic party of liberalism. For a Democrat to think that in 1956 he is still voting for the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt is about like a Republican's thinking in 1884 that he was still voting for the party of Abraham Lincoln. In any case our reverence belongs, not to the political party line, but to the Christian party line, and there can never be a perfect identity between the two.

The Christian citizen who thinks of voting Republican this year is strangely assisted in his effort at transcendence and criticism by the Republican party line itself. For if he swallows that line he ought to feel disgraced in his Christian conscience and even humiliated intellectually. The line—whatever the planks in the official platform—obviously consists of three items: Peace, Prosperity, Progress. As a purely political line this may have its merits. All of us are in favor of Progress, as we are in favor of God, country, mother, home. But there are no grounds for thinking that Peace is a Republican monopoly. And

the existence of Prosperity—whether sponsored by Republicans or by Democrats—is never a sufficient ground for a Christian commitment in politics. If the Christian citizen as a Democrat does not receive similar assistance from his party in maintaining critical transcendence it is, I believe, because the Democratic party line has a peculiar vagueness except as a line of opposition.

Whatever our specific judgments and commitments, our first allegiance belongs to the Christian party line. That party line is defined not as Peace, Prosperity, Progress but as Justice, Love, Liberty. The Justice is the social justice made explicit in the teachings of the prophets. The Love is the love incarnate in our Lord. The Liberty is the peculiarly Protestant combination of the inward spiritual liberty in Christ as it finds expression in the several civil, political, economic and religious liberties. The task of the Christian as citizen is to take these criteria of the Christian party line and to apply them rigorously —not to a political party line (that would be otiose) but to the specific issues which confront the nation today.

These are issues of peace (with respect both to disarmament and to foreign relations), of the farm problem, of the rights of labor, of the interests of the Negro, of a just and creative economy, of social welfare and security, and of civil rights and liberties. Wherever one comes out after a conscientious inquiry into the situation, after a realistic assessment of the operation of political forces, after a careful calculus of the probabilities in one direction or another—one should come out with a commitment that is, so far as possible, Christian rather than secular in its judgment.

Having made his commitment, the Christian citizen will still be able to criticize; having determined his convictions, he will still hold them in humility; having participated in a program, he will still keep some part of himself transcendent to it. And if he has known how to take sides with a political party, he will know how to change sides to another political party as occasion may arise, while still seeking chiefly to retain his loyalty to a line and a party that may be Christian.

Unsatisfying Choice

By Kermit Eby

ONE of the most significant and startling facts in our country today—shown up more clearly in this election year—is that for the first time in our history there is no place in our political life for the otherwise-minded. We have no party of reform, no party of dissent —no means through which those of opposing political beliefs can work for what they believe in. Forces such as the Populist party of the late 19th century and Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose party, the La Follettes and the Debses, have disappeared from the American political scene. We no longer even have the chance to vote for Norman Thomas. There is no recognized protest group through which those who differ in approach and concept can lift their voice and affirm their beliefs.

What we seem to have today is a presidential campaign based on personalities rather than issues. We are asked to choose between Stevenson's eloquence and Eisenhower's winsomeness. Are the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties so different as to make them the basis of decision? I think not. If they were, would there be such a need for the concentration on personalities? Republicans would balance the budget for all the wrong reasons and Democrats would increase military expense. What choice does the moral man have?

The concentration of attention on personalities is, it seems to me, escapism. For fear of looking at the real questions we accept this personality difference as a party difference. The term "Great White Father" has often been applied to Eisenhower, sometimes in jest, sometimes in all seriousness. The fact is that Eisenhower represents just that—the protective, reassuring father who smoothes away our doubts and insecurities. Roosevelt was liked, loved and hated as a human being, as a man. But Eisenhower has transcended humanity—transcended it even to the point where his illness becomes an asset. He represents something that has happened to the middle class. There is the identification of Ike with national symbols by which he, and thus we, are smiled on. Years of "peace and prosperity" is what we expect and accept as our due. If we live right, rewards will be both tangible and immediate. We are God's special charge. God has become the "man upstairs" who accepts our conventional religiosity.

This election will probably deal with fewer issues than any other in our history. Are the real issues so explosive that we dare not discuss them? If we had a political party that would deal with issues it would have to admit that economic choices are moral choices, that the question is not how much we spend but what we spend it for. We seem to be working on the assumption that there is a direct relationship between *more* and happiness. I doubt that this is true. I wonder how much "more" happiness needs—or if "more" is what it needs at all.

Among the issues that I would want to see discussed is the over-all state of our American economy. How is our economy affected by our relations with the rest of the world? Have we actually established for ourselves a built-in gyroscope, a stabilizer for our economy in the form of defense expenditures? How much of this expenditure legitimately goes for defense and how much is simply waste continued in the fear of making a transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy? Can this transition be made without another disastrous depression? Are we afraid to raise wages or to cut hours or to do both so that the fruits of production can be diverted from "defense" to the people?

I would like to have real discussion of the impact of the

modern corporation, especially the big and powerful ones like General Motors, on our country—not only economically but culturally and spiritually as well. Is the atmosphere in which we operate, as set and maintained by the government, unnecessarily dominated by them? What are the effects of the great power of such big corporations on our total economy? How big is big enough? And this might also be discussed as it relates to and affects other organizations. Is the bureaucratization of unions a result only of their own internal workings, or is it due also to the nature of the companies with which they must deal? Has organization depersonalized the churches?

Escalators Can Go Down Too

Today no one seems to doubt that the escalator can only go up. Capital expenditures are expanding but consumer purchases are not keeping pace. What is the relation of consumer expenditures to the debt structure? Personal debt climbs unceasingly. In the last year short-term loans went up $4 billion, making a total of $36 billion. Today no one questions the price but rather wonders whether the payments can be met. The Bible is concerned about the immorality of usury. It underscores the belief that there should be a limit on what you make out of the other fellow's necessity. Today interest rates are fantastically high. What does this do to people? How much is there left of the man whose salary is already spent before he has earned it?

We hear little discussion today of "holding the line" against inflation. We merely accept the fact that a steel strike will affect steel prices, which in turn will affect automobile prices. It is thought to be inevitable. The possibility of controlling these trends is not an issue. Walter Reuther once demanded that wages be looked at in their relationship to prices and profits. That demand seems to have been forgotten—consider the steel strike! Since we ignore this issue at home we pay no attention to our responsibility for its consequences abroad. Yet it was inflation that gave Hitler a selling point and it is inflation that now threatens so many European countries.

Also, there are moral issues and value questions concerning the changed agricultural scene caused by the technological evolution. Farming is increasingly industrialized. The "surplus" farmers move and increase the size of our cities. How big do we want our cities to become, and what problems are involved in controlling their size if that is deemed desirable? What happens to our "way of life"? What *is* the American way of life at this point? How far have we moved toward the goals set before us by our forefathers? Or do we even want the same goals? If we don't, then in what direction *do* we want to move? These are the larger issues. Who cares about them?

Who Controls What?

The face of the whole world has been changed by mass communication. And yet how are these means of mass communication utilized? Where, for instance, does the demand for American automobiles come from? Who creates the insistence that each year's models be bigger and more powerful, regardless of utility, economy or safety? Is the fact that there are more appropriations for roads than for schools an outgrowth of this artificial stimulation? Are our religious, social and political concerns as easily manipulated as are our tastes in cars or clothes? How long can free men endure this?

Integration, the most explosive of the issues facing our country today, has been so nebulously handled by both parties that we never see its real implications. What does it mean when taken out of terms of expediency and put into moral terms? The question of integration is outstandingly a moral one. It was decided by the Supreme Court on that basis, it is viewed by the world on that basis. And yet we are told that we must integrate because of our "reputation." Some person, some party should affirm, in our Judeo-Christian tradition, the universal equality of man, without regard to color, as a child of God.

Today the wisdom of the militarization of America is no longer questioned; it is accepted. But must the militarization necessary to national security also permeate every facet of our daily lives, even to the militarization of our thoughts? Have we had any honest discussion or debate on the relation between the growth of the corporation and the extension of militarization? The danger that America faces today from new weapons and means of destruction is surely an issue. We cannot continue to be treated as children, protected from the facts, and still assume adult responsibilities in political life. It has come to the point where we must demand our manhood and not just assume that we have it.

Reduced to Voting Blindly

Foreign policy is the most important issue of all to the American people and the one on which we have been most defeated. We must know the truth concerning foreign aid, technical assistance, the United Nations, disarmament. We must know so that we can, each one of us, make our own personal and moral choices.

We are forced to back into positions either because of shortsightedness or from lack of necessary information. We should not have to vote blindly, as I will have to do this year in voting Democratic. Ours is a government whose voters should be able to choose on the basis of full and free discussion of the really important issues. This campaign has not provided this kind of discussion.

Daily We Touch Omniscience

DAILY we touch omniscience, come back
through some remembered portal
cupping time in our hands
like a luminous grail
and space like a golden apple.

Yet when we breathe the god-breath
upon our waxen image left behind
the charnel-house suspires in our faces
and the ubiquitous snake
crawls over Eden.
But we shall go out again
and return again
through the remembered portal . . .
for we have touched omniscience.

MICHAEL WOLF.

Is There a 'Labor Vote'?

By Clair M. Cook

WHAT IS the role of organized labor in this election year? Is there such a thing as a "labor vote"? Will the endorsement of Stevenson and Kefauver by the big general board of the A.F.L.–C.I.O. prove of real significance?

These and similar questions are agitating the professional politician acutely. No one knows the answers, not even Messrs. Kroll and McDevitt of labor's political high command. But on one fact everyone is agreed: labor is in there pitching politically this year like a bunch of pennant-starved major leaguers in the home stretch.

In the past year I have been a visitor at numerous labor conventions, of both state bodies and international unions, including the A.F.L.–C.I.O. merger convention. If there is any theme to which speaker after speaker recurred more often than to the need for political activity through the unions, I have not heard it. It crops up in talks by directors of education, by organizers, by local union delegates from the floor. It is the inevitable burden in the platform addresses of representatives of the Committee on Political Education (COPE) and distinguished guest speakers. These latter include at least one prominent political personality at every major convention, Senator Wayne Morse being a perennial favorite. Every resolutions committee is swamped with demands for political action on a wide gamut of subjects, from migrant labor, housing and education to foreign policy.

'Register—and Vote!'

Just now you will find no labor paper, whether a local or an international publication, that does not concern itself on page after page with candidates and issues, appeals for COPE, and above all the message: Register! Register and vote! A few years ago the C.I.O. unions were well out in front politically, though they sometimes had difficulty picking up their line backers. But this year there is a brand-new teamwork, crunching down the field as a smooth and polished unit.

The A.F.L.'s Labor's League for Political Education and the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee cooperated to some extent two years ago, in several cases out of the same regional office; but they were far from being integrated. Now they are solidly merged in a unified program under the Committee on Political Education. William McSorley of the COPE staff, speaking to the Meat Cutters' convention at Cincinnati in June, told of some of its activities:

> We have today in Washington what we feel is the finest research staff in the country. We feel it is second to none, including the research staffs of either of the major political parties. We have a public relations department that we feel is second to none. We have an expanded women's division. We have what you might say is a double number of area directors, so that each area director's geographical area is now smaller and each area director is better able to serve your organizations. We also have an expanded national staff and we are better able to furnish literature, organizational material and campaign material than ever before.

The COPE program was described by Mr. McSorley as consisting of five phases. First comes registration—and the magnitude of the problem can be judged from the fact that checks have shown locals with as few as five per cent of their members registered even in 1956. Second is information on issues—a constant watch on legislative bills and procedures, and interpretation thereof in simple terms that will have meaning to members. Third is dissemination of the voting records of congressmen and senators—and just now that "scorecard" of "Right" and "Wrong" votes on such issues as school construction, natural gas, tax cuts, farm program and atomic power is going out at a cost of $50,000 to blanket union members by the million.

A fourth point in the program is financial support for COPE, asked for at the rate of $1 per member outside the regular dues schedule. Some of this extra money will be placed with great discretion at the service of favored hard-pressed candidates where it may make a vital difference. As this is written, the *Congressional Quarterly* has just disclosed that 19 Republican political committees reporting to the clerk of the House of Representatives "received $7,370,000 and spent $4,449,000 from January 1 to September 1." During the same time, seven Democratic groups took in $1,105,000 and spent all but $21,000 of it. The score for 18 national and local labor organizations was $779,000 received and $492,000 spent—far from the millions popularly believed available to labor. The fifth and culminating point in COPE's program is, quite naturally, getting out the vote.

How is this program working? Is the machinery producing the desired results?

As Maine Goes . . . ?

Before looking at the one instance which can give a large-scale answer—namely, the Maine election—let me cite my personal experience. As director of the Religion and Labor Foundation, with a foot in both camps, I am not only a member of the clergy—which under the Methodist system, incidentally, is one of the nation's largest closed shops—but I also belong to a 50-member local of the Office Employees International Union. Even in this small local there is a committee on political education, and as long ago as last spring its chairman "tapped" me for my dollar contribution. This summer I received a letter from the local's president, noting that a check of the list showed that I was not registered to vote in Columbus. There was also a reminder from the president of the city C.I.O. council, and a reply form to be returned certifying that I had attended to the matter. (Perhaps in self-defense I should add that at the time my legal and voting residence was still in New England.) And at the September meeting of the local, a specific report on registration was one order of business. All over the nation, precinct by precinct, the dogged work of union leaders is resulting in thousands upon thousands of

new registrations, a volume of union-member political eligibility never before approached.

What can happen as a result is demonstrated in the Maine election. There a Democrat was elected to Congress for the first time since 1934, a second congressional seat is still undecided pending recount, a Democratic governor received the biggest vote ever cast for a Maine governor of either party, and in the state legislature Democrats gained 21 house and 2 senate seats. Commenting on this election the *U.S. News and World Report* stated flatly: "Organized labor emerged as a factor to be reckoned with in Maine politics. For example, the State CIO is estimated to have only 16,000 members. But, for tight organization, willingness to work and skilled political direction, no Republican group matched it."

The Drive for Registration

But even the astute editors of that magazine, like other political analysts, may not have assessed the full weight of COPE's operations in Maine. I heard Al Barkin of the COPE staff describe those operations to the International Union of Electrical Workers at its St. Louis convention last month. Some months earlier, at a political action meeting in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, reports showed that at least one Maine textile union had only 10 per cent of its members registered to vote, and other locals reflected the same political apathy. The drive for registration went into full swing, especially in such textile areas as Biddeford, Saco and Sanford and in major cities such as Portland, Lewiston and Auburn. When election day came the doorbell ringers in their by now "tight organization" saw to it that registrants became voters, with scores of cars shuttling back and forth to furnish free transportation to the polls.

Immediately after the election one syndicated columnist noted what others have commented on: that in many places, including Portland, Saco, Sanford and Auburn, more Republican votes were cast than in 1954. For the state as a whole, there were 10,000 more. But the Democratic vote swelled by 39,000. Portland gained 582 Republican votes but the Democratic vote jumped by 5,004. Lewiston lost 661 Republicans but gained 3,032 in the Democratic tally. In the textile town of Sanford there were four times as many new Democratic votes as Republican—a gain of 428 against 98. This particular columnist was puzzled—where did all these new Democratic votes come from?

Is the Gallup Poll Right?

If he was going by the results of a recent Gallup poll which claims that labor's vote this year will go 56 per cent for Eisenhower and 44 per cent for Stevenson, he might well wonder. Vice-President Nixon and other Republican leaders have expressed confidence that President Eisenhower and Republicans in general will carry the day with workers in November. And the Republicans, after a slow start, are putting effort into cultivation of the "labor vote."

Certainly not all workers are Democrats; there was a small Republican dissent even in the high councils of labor on the question of Stevenson's endorsement. A very few powerful leaders, such as Dave Beck of the Teamsters and Maurice Hutcheson of the Carpenters, are well known for their opposition to the majority trend. And as labor men have long insisted, how can they "deliver" the votes of union members when a husband can't even control the way his own wife votes? Some fifty unionists were among the delegates to the Republican convention, although Democratic union delegates and alternates were about four times as numerous. There is a hard-working Republican Labor Executive Committee, and an organization called "Labor Power for Eisenhower" claims to have 682 people working for it in the Pittsburgh area, one of labor's greatest strongholds. There is no question but that there are votes for Eisenhower and Republicans in general among union members. The question is, how many? Were the Maine union voters predominantly Democratic? Or is the Gallup poll somewhere near the truth?

There is considerable room for arguing that the famous polling organization missed the mark on this question as badly as on its prediction in 1948 that Truman would be far lost. Probably the most ambitious effort to test labor's sentiment on a large scale rather than by small samplings was that undertaken shortly before the big party conventions by *Labor's Daily,* the nation's only daily labor paper, published by the Typographical Union at Bettendorf, Iowa. Eighteen other labor papers aided in disseminating the straw ballot, which got a combined circulation estimated at a million and a half.

The Results—What Do They Mean?

Although no absolute totals were announced, the results gave only 26 per cent of the ballots to Eisenhower. The remaining 74 per cent went to the Democrats, with Stevenson taking 43 per cent of the Democratic total and the rest divided among Kefauver, Harriman and Symington (the party's presidential candidate had not yet been named). Incidentally, on a choice of major issues, world peace ran far ahead of the Taft–Hartley law—by 64 per cent to 23 cent of the total vote; and civil rights, farm depression and federal aid to education trailed way behind at the 5 per cent level and under.

Analyzing these results, Sanford Gottlief of the *Labor's Daily* staff disclosed evidence for Eisenhower's greater strength among white collar workers, and particularly among women. The only two cooperating papers that gave Eisenhower a plurality over Stevenson were those of the Communications Workers, predominantly women telephone operators, and the Retail Clerks, also largely female in membership.

This poll by itself, of course, is hardly conclusive. But it gains weight when one sets alongside it the conclusions of three Wayne University sociologists in their recently published study of Detroit auto workers in the 1952 election, *When Labor Votes* (University Books, $5.) Based on a sampling of 828 union members interviewed at length in their homes two weeks before the election and a post-election follow-up of 351, the lengthy and detailed schedules used brought out a wealth of information about the political behavior of union members. On the direct question of their votes, the percentages given in the book tally remarkably with the *Labor's Daily* poll. In 1952, 73 per cent of these auto workers voted for Stevenson, 24 per

cent for Eisenhower. The other three per cent would not tell how they voted.

Some of the other findings of these sociologists—Arthur Kornhauser, Albert J. Mayer and Harold L. Sheppard—are enlightening as to labor's political influence, particularly in the analysis of the weight of organizations like COPE with the members. Asked where they got most of their information about candidates, interviewees put newspapers at the head of the list (65 per cent of all individuals mentioning them), while television stood second (47 per cent). The union ranked in fifth place: only 7 per cent of the individuals listed it as a source of information.

Yet to questions as to sources of information most trusted, labor groups received the top vote of confidence (49 per cent of all mentions). Interestingly enough, church groups placed second with 38 per cent. Newspapers were near the bottom of the list, outranked for that spot only by business groups.

The Majority Sets the Tone

The authors' summary of conclusions in this area, discussing whether members actually follow the union "line" politically, is worth quotation. They say:

> On the whole auto workers in the Detroit area were found to vote in agreement with union recommendations, to express trust in these recommendations, and generally to approve labor's political activities. There is no support here for a picture of top-level political maneuvering that lacks membership backing. To be sure, a small minority of the members stand opposed (15 to 20 per cent); slightly more (about 25 per cent) lack clear convictions and remain uncommitted, ready to sway with whatever pressures play most tellingly upon them in a particular campaign. The active majority sets the tone of prevailing sentiment in the union, however, and most of the wavering middle group goes along. Nevertheless, defections may occur when the opposing candidate or party has special appeal as in the case of Eisenhower.

This year for the first time labor is making a well organized, united, full-scale effort at political intervention. Its biggest battle is still that against political apathy. Insofar as that struggle succeeds, however its voting strength may be recorded, labor's success will be a net gain for operating democracy in America.

'The Fallen Angel'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Not to be mysterious about it, the words above are Helen Keller's apt description of the sense of smell. That sense has fallen low from its high estate alongside the other senses of sight, hearing and taste. For one thing, our sense of smell is not nearly as acute as it was away back in our savage and early human days. Today even the word "smell" is not quite Emily Post; "scent" is preferred by all nice Nellies. Yet the sense of smell was once so sharp and discerning that it had a high place in man's affairs.

Helen Keller has compensated for loss of sight and hearing by a very exquisite development of the powers of the nose. Her face would light up when she entered a greenhouse, for she perceived each flower by its perfume. She could tell when she was in Paris by the smell of powder, wine, fruit stands, drays and horses. She knew in Texas when the train was approaching oil wells, and could smell St. Louis and Duluth many miles away from the breweries. Her sensitive nose could tell her infallibly whether a church she chanced to be passing was Protestant or Catholic.

Yet for the rest of us the nose, in the words of Tennyson's Ulysses, "hath yet his honor and his toil." The "fallen angel" has been a valiant aid in the fight against evil of all sorts, merely by detecting its presence from the smell of it.

The denunciation of idols in the 115th Psalm says, "Noses have they, but they smell not." The same, alas, could often be said, figuratively, of people and of churches. They have noses but they smell not, even in the presence of some obtrusive evil that, literally, smells to heaven. There is needed a keen sensitiveness of nose, a sharpness of ethical perception that will enable people to say of an action or a proposal, "This is wrong. I may not be able to prove every cent of the racket, but I can certainly smell the racket."

At times when some political or business or social corruption is at hand it would be well to lapse into vigorous biblical language, such as Isaiah 3:23: "Instead of a sweet smell, there shall be a stink." Not very genteel, but there are occasions when being genteel is out of place in fighting corruption.

Old Peter Cartwright had a keen ethical sense of smell. Once when approaching a settlement along the Ohio which was a moral sinkhole he sniffed and exclaimed, "I smell Hell!" That was great equipment for religious work on a rough frontier—a good sense of smell. And Peter Cartwright had the nose of a beagle for evil.

There is urgent need to restore the "fallen angel" of smell to save the hosts of the Lord from an insensitive unawareness of something wrong. Such unawareness characterized a large area of the churches in the years of the looting of a continent after the Civil War, the age of the "Dinosaurs" and the "Grand Barbecue," when so many churchmen never knew that the boys in the back room were up to anything. Peter Cartwright's moral sense is needed today whenever the grand steal of public resources is on, or the trickery of a city. Then, like the prophets, though we cannot see every detail, we should be able to smell evil and cry out with all the raucousness and urgency of the alarm for a five-alarm fire.

Yours,

SIMEON STYLITES.

The Radical

As Seen by an American Layman

HUDDLESTON, a man in Africa
A preacher, a teacher—
A man? A saint!
God, bless this thy man!
But thank the gods he's in Africa.

PAUL W. CATON.

REVIEWS

Philo in the Early Church

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHURCH FATHERS. VOLUME I. FAITH, TRINITY, INCARNATION. *By Harry A. Wolfson. Harvard University Press, $10.00.*

THIS is a book of the very first importance, which immediately takes its place as an obvious and inescapable "standard" in the field of patristic thought. Like Wolfson's *Philo*—to which this present volume is a sort of sequel—it is a study of vast scope, immense learning and genuine originality. Here is an eminent Jewish scholar who sees deep affinities between the philosophic perspectives of Philonic Judaism and patristic Christianity, and who interprets both of them in the light of his special thesis that Philo was the principal shaping force of "Western" philosophy from the Christian fathers to Spinoza. Philo's religious philosophy—a synthesis of Jewish religion and Hellenistic metaphysics—passed through Johannine Christianity on to the patristic theologians and thence into medieval philosophy in general. "Philo is the direct or indirect source of this type of philosophy which continues uninterruptedly in its main assertion for well-nigh seventeen centuries, when at last it was openly challenged by Spinoza" (*Philo*, II, 457).

The Philosophy of the Church Fathers undertakes to trace the Philonic influence in the thought of the Christian writers of the first five centuries. Wolfson assumes that what philosophy the early Christian theologians had was Philonic and that this philosophical atmosphere dominated their thinking. He recognizes, of course, that there are many significant discrepancies between Philo and the fathers, but in his view these are "departures" from or "additions" to "the Philonic framework."

In the opening section, "Faith and Reason," this general thesis carries considerable conviction. The points of similarity between Philo and the fathers in their notions of Scripture, allegory, and the relations of faith and reason are numerous and important, even if decisive proof of direct contact is lacking. The second section, on the origin and development of the trinitarian formula, presents greater difficulties. But Wolfson comes up with some interesting and provocative judgments. For example, "up to the end of the period of the Apostolic Fathers [*ca.* 150 A.D.] there was no belief in a pre-existent Trinity" (p. 191). When this belief did arise—among the apologists—it was due mainly to a changing conception of the Holy Spirit and his relation to Jesus Christ (pp. 152-54). Trinitarian orthodoxy represents a sort of miscarriage of the Philonic conceptions of God, the Logos and the world. The apologists first introduced what Wolfson calls the "two-stage" theory of the Logos. This was opposed by the "single-stage" theories of Irenaeus and Origen, who laid down the orthodox line of the *eternal* generation of the Logos.

In Part III, Wolfson turns to "The Three Mysteries" of the generation of the Son, the internal relations of the Trinity, and the "two natures" in Jesus Christ. This section is extremely interesting and fruitful. On the one hand, the urge to tie Philo into everything is less insistent—and less relevant, too. On the other hand, Wolfson has produced an intelligible map of some of the most baffling terrain in the whole history of Christian thought. I know of no more penetrating analysis of the *philosophical* issues involved in the ordeal of orthodoxy from Athanasius to John of Damascus.

The concluding section in this first volume (there is another to follow) deals with the heretics and the heresies. Interestingly enough, Wolfson sees that most of the heresies—except for Gnosticism, which, he says, "is not a philosophy" (p. 514)—"had their origin in an attempt to restore the Philonic conception of the unity of God" (p. viii).

Who will read a book like this? Well, obviously, the scholars in the field will have to read it and take it into careful account. But beyond this lamentably small coterie, anyone with a living sense of history and the role of ideas therein will find the book richly profitable. If true scholarship may be defined as the imaginative application of great learning to the understanding of great issues, Wolfson is a true scholar, and this is one of his best books.

Who will ignore or pass such a book by? Again, obviously, those who know nothing of the period and who could scarcely care less. But even among those who *could* read it there will be many who won't make the effort. For this is a book singularly devoted to the subject matter—not to the reader. You are welcome to enter Wolfson's study, read the fathers over his shoulder, leaf through the enormous file of citations he has collected on every main point, watch his arguments grow and develop, and see his conclusions set firmly thereon. But if you ask him to orient you in the field, persuade you that all this material is worth your while, or compliment you for being attentive, you'll be disappointed. And you will be the loser!

But even the people who profit most from this valuable book are likely to disapprove its basic methodology. One of the most striking features of the patristic literature is its unsystematic character. The fathers—and Origen is only apparently an exception—were deliberately indirect and maieutic in both their didactic and their polemical writings. Wolfson's effort to abstract their "philosophy" is, therefore, Procrustean. In some instances the results are strained; in others, they are downright misleading. The church fathers were not primarily philosophers; and they used philosophical notions only because and insofar as the biblical data and the data of their religious experience drove them to explanations that thrust them into metaphysical analysis. At every point, their philosophy—Philonic, "Platonic," eclectic—is ancillary to the theological task of interpreting the vital mysteries of their corporate faith to themselves and to others. This is quite plain when one passes from Wolfson's exposition to the texts themselves. The change of atmosphere is very marked.

Within the limits of Wolfson's method and interpretative categories, this book will not soon become outdated. It will still be indispensable a generation from now. This is fortunate in more ways than one—for it will give the Harvard press a chance to correct the all too numerous "typos" it has allowed itself in this printing.

ALBERT C. OUTLER.

Confession for Others

FADS AND FOIBLES IN MODERN SOCIOLOGY AND RELATED SCIENCES. *By Pitirim A. Sorokin. Regnery, $10.00.*

SOROKIN has assumed the responsibility of confessing the errors and sins of social scientists. In the preface he admits that he has shared in many of the fads and foibles discussed. Unfortunately the essay smacks considerably of self-justification. He is very specific about the sins of others, but often suggests that if they had taken seriously one of his previous works, virtue would have prevailed. His self-justification is most obvious in his discussion of the men with whom he has been closely associated—e.g., Talcott Parsons. He does not comment on his own ridiculous "quantophrenia," by which he classified the cultural mentalities of various historical periods in his *Social and Cultural Dynamics*.

The book deals with the following: the assumption on the part of many social scientists that they are disclosing something absolutely new in the history of thought; the obtuse and pseudo-scientific jargon they have developed; the preoccupation with tests of many kinds without necessary skepticism and self-criticism; the quantification of all data in an effort to copy the methods of the natural sciences and mathematics; the use of the models of physics and mechanics in social science theory; problems of predictability where the data are human events; the problems of positivistic philosophy that underlie social research; and the sham objectivity of many of the data that are used.

Anyone with critical faculties and philosophical predilections who has worked in the social sciences knows the truth of what Sorokin says. The author has gone through many studies in order to develop and illustrate his theses. His language is polemical enough to make the book occasionally exciting. To have the confession made by one who has been long identified with the sinners is better than having a theologian or philosopher act as priest, though whether the sinners would have ordained Sorokin to the priesthood is doubtful.

This reviewer is uncertain about the impact of the book. If its tone were more serene the social scientists might take it less defensively than they will. And the fundamental theological and philosophical problems involved in the use of physical-science methods in social research are not really discussed. The debate among German social thinkers of the 19th and early 20th centuries (W. Dilthey, Max Weber, Windelband, Rickert, *et al.*) treated the methodological problems in the human studies far more profoundly. Finally, one suspects that those theologians and ministers who habitually lump all social scientists together will find that this book supports all their prejudices and glib generalizations. In spite of the fads and foibles Sorokin excoriates, the social sciences offer important insight for any theological and religious discussion of the human situation.

The last word must deal with the most momentous aspect of the book: its price. Ten dollars for a 357-page book seems unreasonable even in 1956.

JAMES GUSTAFSON.

Cathedral

ST. PAUL'S IN ITS GLORY, 1831-1911. *By G. L. Prestige. Macmillan, $4.50.*

IN 1831 St. Paul's Cathedral in London was a vast, empty and dirty public monument. By 1911 it was recognized as the parish church of the empire. The slow, laborious process by which its spiritual life was renewed, its fabric repaired and its organization streamlined is recounted here in detail by the late canon treasurer.

The book is well written. It is thorough without being tedious, and it combines warm human insight into the lives of the men who guided the cathedral's affairs with a shrewd awareness of the political and economic forces with which they had to cope and by which they were in part formed. Americans may have heard of Milman, Church, Liddon, and Scott Holland in other connections: here are intimate portraits culled from the records of the cathedral they served.

Americans will also be fascinated by the frank disclosure of the problems of an established church. It is good to see so many competent men brought to London's cathedral, but it is startling to learn that it was a concerned prime minister who brought them. Bishops are seldom mentioned in the chronicle. And if we yearn for the quiet dignity the centuries bring, we may be comforted by the knowledge that contemporary American choirmasters are not defied by choirs claiming 13th century prerogatives. The maze of legal and ecclesiastical red tape patiently unwound during the 80 years reported here has no parallels in the New World.

But there are parallels to be drawn and lessons to be learned in areas which Old and New World share in common. How does a Renaissance cathedral survive the Gothic revival and subsequent revulsion? How can a conspicuous and venerable church learn from the evangelical and catholic revivals, profit by the scholarship of the liberals and the zeal of the fundamentalists, and still witness in nonpartisan simplicity to the faith? The story told here is one of purposeful "muddling through." It is Britain's way of showing that the longest way around still reaches home, without heresy trials and with a minimum of lawsuits.

Pastors of historic churches, Anglophiles, historians of the 19th century, students of church architecture and any who have time for leisurely reading will enjoy this book.

SAMUEL J. WYLIE.

CORRESPONDENCE

Lefever Vindicated

SIR: I cannot understand the harsh criticisms which Dr. Lefever's recent article, "The Candidates' Religious Views," received from certain readers in the Oct. 10 issue. At any rate, whatever preference (if any) he may have shown for Stevenson, recent utterances by both presidential candidates serve fully to justify him. Thoughtful people everywhere welcome Stevenson's earnest desire to end the peacetime draft, for they fear that if it is continued much longer it will be nothing short of full-fledged U.M.T. Neither Eisenhower nor Nixon favors its discontinuance at any early date.

Again, while Stevenson has repeatedly called for a cessation of the nuclear tests, both Republican candidates have criticized him vigorously for daring to bring such a question into the open. Thus in spite of all their talk about peace they are fostering international misunderstanding and fear—which can only serve to operate as causes of war. At least these tests—if continued in the future as in the past—will turn most of Asia against us.

Albion, Mich. ARTHUR W. MUNK.

Our Traveler—Pro and Con

SIR: It seems a shame that when editors go visiting they do not visit. I am referring to Mr. Gill's "The Sometime Holy Land" (Oct. 10). There is much he writes with which I can agree, but I feel he never should have written that article until he had spent a few weeks on the Israeli side of the fence. I have generally considered that The Christian Century at least tried to report with some reasonableness, but after reading this story and the editorial "What Lies Behind the Israeli Attacks?" I wonder. I have just returned from a summer in the Middle East and at least tried to see both sides of the question. One other thought: it is true that "the English are despised out loud and hated out of hand," but so are we. There is considerable question as to whether, as Mr. Gill says, "some of this animosity, of course, rubs off on Americans," or whether it is the other way around. S. L. JOHNSON.

Boulevard Congregational Church,
Detroit, Mich.

SIR: Congratulations to the Century and to Theodore A. Gill for the well written, courageous article "The Sometime Holy Land." I visited the Bible lands with an Odyssey group of 21 young people again this year. Dr. Gill's description is exceedingly accurate, and is a much-needed corrective to the material which finds place on the front pages of our papers, giving one-sided reports under Israel date lines.

HENRY DAVID GRAY.

South Congregational Church,
Hartford, Conn.

SIR: Long a satisfied subscriber to your excellent magazine, my enthusiasm soared to yet greater heights on reading "The Sometime Holy Land" by Mr. Gill. For sheer beauty of prose together with a keen insight into the basic problems of the Holy Land this particular piece of editorial correspondence is without peer. It is articles like this which keep the renewals coming from this person. EDWIN L. STICKNEY, M.D.

Broadus, Mont.

SIR: What a wonderful Monday morning quarterback you have in the author of "The Eye of the Storm"! Dulles should not have called off American help to build the dam after Egypt had sold her cotton crop for years to come to Russia! . . . We should for free build the dam so Egypt should be strong enough to destroy Israel, a creation of the U.N.! We should subsidize her schools because they are 85 per cent illiterate. True the schools must teach only the Mohammedan religion. How cruel the Christian world is not to rush in and establish schools! . . . The way your editor twists facts, he should be called home to stump the country for the Democrats. . . .

Martinez, Calif. JOHN R. GEORGE.

Panama No Suez

SIR: Your editorial "If Suez, Why Not Panama?" (Sept. 12) is abrupt in its ignorance and you must surely know it. The circumstances between these two canals are totally different, the Panama being a completely fair and legal purchase of property and a gamble that we could succeed where others repeatedly failed. You have merely parroted the communist line without realizing it. . . . Brothers, the gospel enjoins us to seek the truth. When the facts are available upon a bit of research, let's not be satisfied with cute innuendos pretending to ask vital questions. . . . The Suez and the Panama are both canals, but there the resemblance ends and you know it. At least if you are ignorant of this then your national position as a Chris-

tian paper requires more thorough investigation. VERN L. KLINGMAN.
Emmanuel Methodist Church,
Denver, Colo.

But We Are Forgiven!

SIR: Your excellent analysis of the General Council of the United Church of Canada (Oct. 3) was most appreciated. "To see ourselves as others see us" is sometimes a sobering experience, but in this instance your report was encouraging and heartwarming. But as a "westerner" I must in all kindness inform you of the untruth of your statement, "The western provinces have never yet elected a moderator." The following western ministers have been elected moderators: the late Prin. E. H. Oliver (1930), Saskatoon, and the late Prin. Aubrey S. Tuttle (1940), Edmonton. The retiring moderator, George A. Dorey, while serving at our church headquarters since 1938, spent the larger part of his ministry in the west and is still a member in good standing of the Saskatchewan conference.

As a brother beloved you are already forgiven. DONALD BRUCE MACDONALD.
MacDougall United Church,
Edmonton, Alta.

SIR: Members of the United Church of Canada appreciate very much your recent evaluation of our church as "in several ways the most complete and vital Protestant communion in North America." However, if the United Church of Canada ever "accepts bishops" it will not necessarily be "providing they have the status and prerogatives Methodist bishops have in the United States." While we committed ourselves in 1950 to the continuance of the episcopate in some constitutional form in any union with the Anglican Church of Canada, we were very careful not to commit ourselves to any particular doctrine of the episcopate. We were equally particular to safeguard the place which the council of presbyters and the congregation of the faithful have in our own communion and insisted that those principles be effectively maintained in any organic union. . . .

ERNEST E. LONG,
Secretary of the General Council.
United Church of Canada,
Toronto, Ont.

SIR: On behalf of the United Church of Canada, I wish to express appreciation of the account in The Christian Century of our recent General Council. Your reference to myself was overgenerous in attributing to me the foundation and editorship of the *Canadian Theological Journal*. I am chairman of the board of directors and a member of the editorial committee, but the honor of founding the journal should go to Prof. John Line of Emmanuel College, Toronto. And the chairman of the editorial committee is Prof. David W. Hay of Knox College, Toronto. JAMES S. THOMSON,
Moderator of the General Council.
Montreal, Que.

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Laymen on Toynbee

SIR: Let me, a layman, add a word to Prof. Shinn's excellent review of the new Toynbee book (Oct. 10). Is Toynbee not right in saying that there is too much institutionalism in the field of religion, carrying with it the danger that we may substitute worship of the institution for worship of God? And is he not also right in questioning the validity of the many "accretions" which tend to fasten themselves on true religion, like barnacles on a ship? Should we let eternal truth be modified, adjusted or otherwise manipulated to suit the subjective desires of particular locales or periods?

The average layman will admire Toynbee's intellect but will be disappointed in his book. There is little spiritual warmth in it. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." One can derive a bit of consolation from the admission that love and sacrifice loom large in God's scheme of things, but true religion must capture the heart as well as satisfy the intellect, and the average layman finds little comfort in a cold, vague, intellectual "belief" in a Mystical Something.

WILBUR LA ROE, JR.
Washington, D. C.

SIR: Roger L. Shinn's "The Religion of Arnold Toynbee" is a fair example of why some laymen distrust professional Christian apologists. Prof. Shinn speaks of Toynbee's "well known thesis that we should look for a common essence in the great world religions" and that "each religion (and Christianity in particular) must give up its claim to unique or final truth." To a layman this seems like

plain common sense; but the theologian is unwilling or unable to see it this way and so puts himself to endless pains to prove that Christianity *must* be placed at the very top of the heap, and not only in one country at one time but in all countries at all times. It is an odd thing that the "little Christian story" (historically speaking) looms so much larger in the mind of the theologian than it ever does in the mind of the historian—a problem, perhaps, for the psychologist.

Brooklyn, N. Y. HOWARD HAYES.

SIR: Prof. Shinn's excellent review of *Toynbee and History* could be footnoted by the observation that the challenge of Toynbee has evoked curious and revealing responses. Whatever may be his errors—and there are many—Toynbee has chastened and embarrassed much belligerently secularist scholarship. The idea that religion in its generic sense might be the central factor in the life of *homo sapiens* is pure prescientific heresy in the eyes of some. Indeed for some the attempt to demonstrate this possibility is hardly respectable. One is reminded of Galileo all over again.

Obviously Toynbee cannot be all that his critics—published or unpublished—say he is or isn't. Nor is the appeal to judge him by "orthodox" secularist dogma convincing. The "clash of doctrines," wrote the late Alfred North Whitehead, "is not disaster—it is opportunity." Toynbee has revealed the other side of the coin with telling force. If his critics will review the case of Galileo *vs.* the Inquisition and its sequel in the history of modern science, they may be able to take heart in the fact that the Inquisition subsequently proved to be right in a sense too. But this will mean that they must accede to Toynbee that in some real sense religion is central to the life of man, and that, like Galileo, Toynbee has merely revived with new force what earlier men had already suggested and in their own way were justified in believing. MILTON D. HUNNEX.

Department of Philosophy,
San Bernardino Valley College,
San Bernardino, Calif.

Demonstration

SIR: After reading "As Congress Adjourned" by a Washington correspondent (Oct. 3), I am beginning to wonder whether it is not dangerous to vote for a Roman Catholic to fill the office of senator or representative, let alone President. After the Roman Catholic majority leader of the House pulled a fast one and slipped through a bill that will bleed American taxpayers of $8 million for Catholic schools in the Philippines, I wonder what a Roman Catholic President would do for the Vatican. The speaker's action should awaken those who ask: "What difference does it make what a man's religion is?" It is time for those who wish to preserve freedom and liberty for posterity to start differentiating between a "religious" and a Roman Catholic issue.

R. B. GUSTAFSON.

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NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Andrews Favors 'Interposition'

Leader of States' Rights Party Makes Doctrine Originated in Virginia Dominant Campaign Issue

RICHMOND, VA., Oct. 15.—In Virginia, the interracial issue has taken on new aspects. The local states' rights party is reported to be one of the small conservative groups in some 14 states which are loosely organized behind the new national States' Rights party headed by T. Coleman Andrews. Speaking here Oct. 14, Andrews denounced the government for exercising "powers of a Caesar or a Cromwell" and said that he favors "interposition" as a tool in matters concerning the "relative and properly balanced powers of government." The interposition principle was originally proposed by a special session of Virginia's general assembly, then abandoned because of the fear that the southern states would not be strong enough to defeat a proposed integration amendment to the Constitution. Now the new party proposes to make interposition its dominant issue.

Calls on Negroes to Increase Use of Ballot

Speaking recently at Petersburg, Martin Luther King, minister and leader of the Negro boycott of the Montgomery, Ala., buses, offered a five-point program to make integration a reality. It calls for increasing the number of Negro voters, pressing for civil rights legislation, raising money in the cause of freedom, developing dedicated leadership, and protesting against injustices wherever they arise. He said segregation is evil because it makes for inequalities, scars the soul of both segregator and segregated, and depersonalizes the Negro. Dr. King warned that the betrayal of the Negro by both the Republican and the Democratic parties will continue until Negroes through their vote place in office "proper officials." He urged his listeners not to resort to violence, lest "unborn generations be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness." Pres. E. B. Henderson of the state National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said he thinks the Virginia general assembly enacted anti-integration laws not so much because it was afraid of desegregated schools as because it anticipated that if Negroes have access to equal, nonsegregated education they will aspire to jobs commensurate with their training and abilities.

Urban League Withdraws from Chest Drive

The Richmond Urban League has voluntarily requested that it be allocated no funds from the current Community Chest drive lest its presence on the list of beneficiaries jeopardize the 1956 drive for $1,157,641. From the start of the chest program the league has been included in the allocations and was to receive $15,717 this year. But because of increased interracial tensions it decided it had best withdraw this year, and will conduct its own campaign for funds. In a formal statement league officers declared: "We are not willing to see Richmond's most precious asset—its great Community Chest—seriously injured or destroyed by such hate groups as exist, and urge every Richmond citizen, regardless of race, creed or color, to support the remaining 31 agencies of the chest."

Virginia Presbytery Grants Women a Favor

Ministers and elders of East Hanover presbytery in Virginia voted recently to permit women to serve as deacons and elders. They took the action in the face of arguments for woman's subjugation harking back to the Garden of Eden. Said an elder from a Richmond church: "Man was created first. Women have their own organizations. Why should they after 2,000 years want to start something new? Why should they want to usurp the place of men?" The presbytery approved a committee's recommendation that the Presbyterian, U.S., Book of Church Order be amended to permit the change it had voted. Such an amendment, however, would have to be approved by a majority of the presbyteries before a church could decide by a majority vote whether it would permit women to hold the office of deacon or elder. Frederic H. Olert, pastor of Second Presbyterian Church here, asked the presbytery to pass a resolution upholding the Supreme Court's school integration decision and deploring the segregation legislation recently enacted by the Virginia general assembly. His request was referred to the committee on Christian relations for later report.

Baptists Lift Budget For Missions

The Southern Baptist Mission Board, which has its headquarters here, adopted a budget for 1957 of $8,128,504—largest in its 111-year history and $627,422 higher than that for 1956. The board also set a goal of 130 missionary appointments for the coming year. Elmer S. West, Jr., secretary for missionary personnel, reported that the number of missionary candidates has doubled in the past two years. "With a reservoir of more than 1,400 candidates and more than 2,600 volunteers of college age," he added, "the prospects for appointment of an increasing number of new missionaries in the years ahead is most encouraging."

Distrust of Beverage Control Board Mounts

Many Virginians feel that the state Alcoholic Beverage Control Board (A.B.C.) should be renamed the "Alcoholic Beverage Promotion Board" because of its increasing disregard for the wishes of the people in locating liquor stores. Against the protests of people in a residential section of Richmond, it recently opened a liquor store near a high school. And its influence was apparently behind the decision of the city council to extend the closing hour for downtown drinking places from 11 p.m. to midnight. This action also was taken over the protests of downtown residents, who declared that the extension meant that their rest would be longer disturbed. It is increasingly felt here that behind the actions of the control board lies the influence of interests which profit by the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor.

F. W. BURNHAM.

Bolivia: Challenge To Protestantism

Nation Struggling to Free Itself from Age-old Exploitation Has Needs Churches Could Meet

ROSARIO, ARGENTINA, Oct. 1.—Of all the South American countries, none has been more dramatically swept by echoes of the world revolution now in progress than landlocked Bolivia, to which this correspondent, a Methodist minister, recently made an extended visit. Up to now, Bolivia's revolution has been largely political, social and economic. But there are indications that the new day is bringing a change also in the nation's cultural and religious pattern. There are Protestants in Bolivia, and the swift pace of events has brought their churches to a crossroads.

Even the most confirmed critics of revolutionary methods have to acknowledge that in recent years Bolivia has seen many privileges abolished, old forms done away with and a way opened for what promises to be an awakening among the native Indian masses. The period has been difficult for many Bolivians, particularly the middle classes. Some things have been done arbitrarily, even though under the guise of "justice." But the *campesinos* (natives), who for centuries had suffered exploitation under the double yoke of a feudal landlordism and a repressive Roman Catholic Church, have been redeemed from oblivion. Everywhere one sees signs of this redemption: an Indian carrying a bed or chair home to his dwelling—an Indian who hitherto had neither known about nor owned such furniture; labor union headquarters newly built on the high mountain plateaus where until now even to speak of the "rights of the Indian" had been forbidden.

Teeming Problems Remain

One cannot but rejoice at such indications of an indigenous awakening, which may be the key achievement looking toward a new day in Bolivia. But economic problems persist: in spite of her enormous natural resources, the country is one of the most underdeveloped on the western continent.

Bolivia faces many other problems. There is a tremendous difference in social classes, and consequently inequality of opportunity. The agrarian reform now being carried out through a government-sponsored land distribution scheme has many defects, but its purpose is commendable: to overcome this inequality. Bolivia labors under an inheritance of immorality, a hangover from colonial times. Moral license is the order of the day and family life is far from stable. This is true not only in the rural regions: in Cochabamba, one of the principal cities, there were in 1954 500 marriages and 453 divorces.

For centuries the religious life of the people has been dominated by a Roman Catholic priesthood whose intellectual and moral level has been regrettably low. Widely known and widely commented on is the fact that even today many of the priests are fathers of illegitimate children. The priestly dom-

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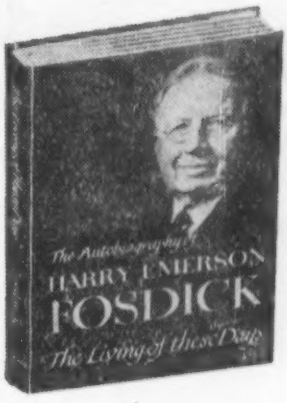

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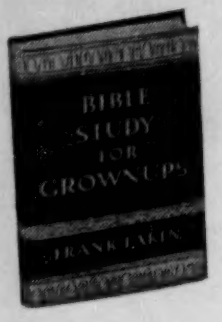

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ination is tied up with superstition and paganism. The great feast days and religious processions sponsored by the church are in essence pagan ceremonies, usually ending in drunken orgies and other excesses. This situation explains the prevalence of anticlericalism in Bolivia. Protest against the condition of the dominant church is heard not only in Protestant and other non-Catholic circles, but even among sensitive Catholics.

What of the Protestants?

In the face of such a chaotic cultural and religious situation, what are Bolivia's Protestants doing? Fortunately, one can answer that Protestantism does have some strategic strongholds in Bolivian life and in various ways is taking root in this strange land.

In Cochabamba, the Methodist Instituto Americano enrolls 1,000 students, and in La Paz, the towering capital, its sister institution enrolls 1,500. Many influential families choose to send their children to these schools in spite of their firm Catholic traditions and their bishops' repeated threats of excommunication. The new president of the country is a graduate of one of these schools, as is the nation's most influential labor leader. Far from playing down their religious emphasis in this period of change, the Protestant schools have continued to stress their essentially evangelical purpose. One need talk but a few moments to the students to discover their religious concern; many of them have already made plain their desire to follow Christ wherever he leads. More teachers are needed for these Protestant schools. Just now a small group of Argentine and Uruguayan Protestants are helping the North American missionaries in this work.

The Protestant groups in Bolivia are also making their influence felt through social work. The famous American clinic founded by Dr. Ernest Beck, who was recently decorated by the Bolivian government, offers not only hospital facilities but also a nurses' training school. Shortly there is to open in the highlands another hospital in charge of a young Argentine physician. He will build on foundations laid over a long period of years by two Protestant nurses.

Around Lake Titicaca

In the Indian communities on the high plateau around Lake Titicaca, the Methodist Church alone has opened some 16 primary schools, served by a score of teachers. Attendance at these schools has grown markedly in recent years. Under the leadership of a Methodist deaconess from Argentina, a school for Indian girls was recently opened in an endeavor to raise the standards of family life—almost hopelessly miserable everywhere on the bleak *altiplano*. Adventists and other groups also carry on work around Lake Titicaca. The Pentecostals conduct a Bible school which trains lay preachers for work among the numerous communities scattered around the lake. Election of Protestants as the first labor leaders among these highland *campesinos* was mainly owing to the fact that only they knew how to read and write. In 400 years of domination, the Roman church had done little to lift the intellectual, moral and social standards of these isolated people.

Although Canadian Baptists started work in Bolivia at the turn of the century, most Protestant effort there is comparatively new. In spite of the prejudice, actual threats and other obstacles encountered by the Bolivian who abandons his traditional affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant churches are growing rapidly in membership. Many resemble the churches in Corinth to which Paul addressed his epistles. In view of the moral situation in the country generally, their members face all kinds of personal and family problems which are difficult to solve.

Many of the churches are sponsoring important side activities: student homes, kindergartens, English classes, libraries. It is indeed true in Bolivia that the harvest is plenteous but the laborers few. The government itself invited Methodist Bishop Sante U. Barbieri of Argentina to send religious workers to one of the mining zones where the educational and spiritual needs are enormous, offering to provide whatever material help might be necessary. But the invitation had to be declined because no workers were available.

Sectarianism a Stumbling Block

Apart from the grave problem raised by the lack of workers in what is historically one of the most difficult mission fields in the world, another great stumbling block lies in the way of the Evangelical witness in Bolivia—sectarianism. Since the end of World War II the country has undergone a veritable invasion of fanatical religious sects, Holiness groups, Four-Square Gospelers and the like. Not only do these groups confuse people; they also criticize and try to destroy the work other Protestant churches have built up at great sacrifice through long, difficult years. If anything is needed in Bolivia at present, it is that the Protestant churches should draw nearer to each other in a common effort to spread the Word. Sectarian prejudices, which have no *raison d'être* in this part of the world, should be overcome. Otherwise, Protestantism will fumble this great opportunity to offer Christ to a people in great need of him.

FEDERICO J. PAGURA.

Methodist Congregations Study Themselves

In a program authorized by the 1956 Methodist General Conference, the 40,000 local Methodist churches in the country will take stock of themselves this fall in a self-study program designed as the first step in a four-year campaign to lift the extent and quality of their services and to help them meet their full responsibility in all areas of Christian living.

Polish Government Relinquishes Lutheran Church

The Polish government has informed the Lutheran World Federation that it has relinquished its use of Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Warsaw as a state youth and rally center. The church, largest Lutheran edifice in Poland, was destroyed during the war and rebuilt through contributions from Polish Lutherans and the (U.S.) National Lutheran Council. It was almost completed when the government took it over for secular purposes in 1950.

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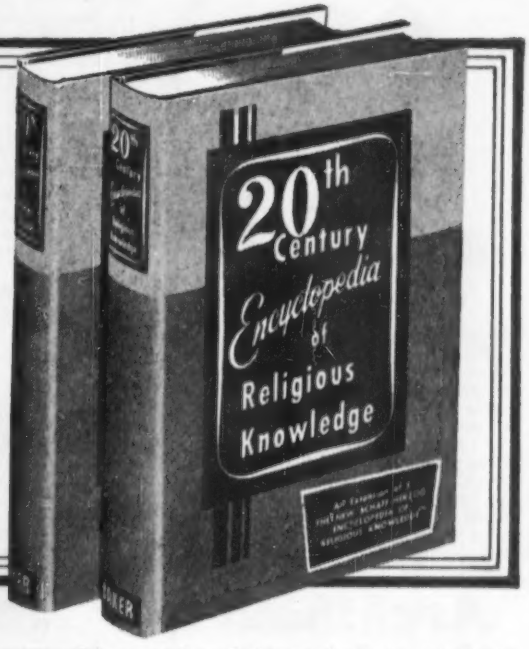

This much-needed reference work completes a monumental project by a group of twelve dedicated scholars headed by Professor Lefferts A. Loetscher, the eminent church historian of the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary. Such a new, contemporary encyclopedia is needed because of the discovery of new source material, the rise of new presuppositions and techniques, both in scholarly research and in the practical strategies of church administration and parish work, far-reaching cultural and social changes which have altered in important ways both the contents and the structure of theological disciplines, and a multitude of new institutions and personalities.

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Lutheran Refugee Service Resettles 10,026

Seventy-three arrivals on Sept. 19 brought to 10,026 the number of refugees who have entered this country under the Lutheran Refugee Service program. The agency hopes to reach its goal of 15,000 resettlers by the time the Refugee Relief act expires at the end of this year. Job and housing assurances reached an all-time monthly high, 705, during August.

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Anglicans Study Divorce Issues

Parishes Will Discuss Pamphlet Based on Royal Commission Findings—York Reports on Russia

LONDON, Oct. 11.—The Church of England's moral welfare council has issued a booklet based on the findings of the recent Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce. The council hopes at least 15,000 parishes will study the questions raised in the booklet this winter. Among them are the commission's recommendation that willful refusal to consummate a marriage stand as a ground for divorce. Opinion in the church is divided on this proposal, as it is on another: that a single act of adultery is insufficient ground for divorce, and that an isolated act should be forgiven. Other questions raised concern artificial insemination and the definitions of "cruelty" in dissolution decrees. On the question of admittance of divorced persons to the sacraments, the Church of England has now agreed officially that the bishop shall have "discretion"—a privilege many have been exercising in practice for years past. The council's booklet declares that marriage is a far greater "risk" today than ever before, with more occasions for friction between husband and wife.

Bruderhof Re-established In Clee Hills

After 20 years of insecure existence in Germany, Paraguay and wartime England, the Wheathill Bruderhof is happily at work on its 500 acres of farmland in the Clee hills of Shropshire. The community of 200—including enough children to make a primary school necessary—is drawn from all sections of British life. Its requirement is willingness to live a "brotherly life" in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, to work hard physically and to live according to the community's decisions. The "Bruderhof" story goes back to Germany. There in 1919 a few brave spirits led by Eberhard Arnold set out to practice the Sermon on the Mount in a community life with all things held in common. When the nazis cast them out of Germany they went to the mountains of Liechtenstein, and later found refuge in the English Cotswolds and in Paraguay. Today there are Bruderhof groups also in the United States and Uruguay, and again in Germany. Total world membership is 1,200, representing 18 nationalities. The Bruderhof is humble enough to realize that its way of life is not for everyone. But in its happy combination of hard work, care for the community and obvious release from anxiety and worry it gets quite near to the Christian ideal.

Archbishop of York Speaks On Russian Church

In his address to the York convocation, Dr. Ramsey, archbishop of York, commented on his recent visit to Russia. "What a contrast there is between the church and its worship and the secular order around it!" he said. "Here we see but one more instance of a recurring attitude in Eastern Christianity: an acceptance of the prevailing order in the state combined with the preparing of

souls for heaven. . . . The church, they would say, is the worshiping colony of heaven, and they are not concerned with politics. They talk however of peace; and they know no more than the press and the radio tell them about its issues in the outside world, and do not know enough to query the thesis that their government, though atheistic, is peace-loving and the Western democracies are prowling about to threaten it. But I would emphasize this: None of these naivetés of political perception alters the fact that the desire of the Russian church for unity with the Church of England is inspired by charity, by theology, and by loyalty to the prayer of our Lord for the unity of his church." Dr. Ramsey hopes that the 1958 Lambeth Conference now being planned will start a movement forward in relationships between the Russian Orthodox and Anglican churches.

Welfare Leader Deplores TV's 'Deadening' Role

Television has become a "time-wasting, conscience-lulling family drug in many homes," John Marsh, director of the Industrial Welfare Society, declared after a recent social survey. "It has produced new national heroes overnight," he said. "We have many third-rate personalities served up time and time again, who in their cocooned adulatory existence know little of real life at all. For many, television is not refreshment; it is an escape from the responsibilities of life at a time when the challenge of our way of economic, political and social life is greater than ever before." It is indeed true that in Britain this immensely powerful medium is increasingly being planned for entertainment and little else. Significantly, there are more viewers for the programs put on by Independent Television, which employs commercials, than for those put on, free of advertising, by the B.B.C.

Seretse Khama Returns To His Homeland

Good sense on all sides has brought a happy ending to the eight years of exile suffered by Seretse Khama, chief of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland, just north of the Union of South Africa. Having renounced his claim to the chieftainship, Seretse, who has been living with his British wife and two children in London, will be permitted to return to his homeland. He will be free to take part in public life and be eligible to membership in the tribal council. This plan for the 100,000-member tribe will insure a new place for Seretse, and for his uncle Tshekedi—both able Africans whose leadership the people need. The house of Khama, long established in the people's affections, will now be based on a democratic rather than a hereditary principle. Whether it will work in a tribe which respects "chieftainship" remains to be seen. But for the time being another tangle in British-African relationships has been smoothed out.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

Translate Luther's Works Into French

Thanks to a grant from the Lutheran World Federation, the works of Martin Luther are to be translated into French for the first time, with the first volume scheduled to appear next spring. The translation is being done by a team of French scholars headed by Pastor J. Lovy.

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North Carolina's Plan Challenged

Court Suit Contends Permitting Local Option on School Segregation Nullifies Constitution

LAURINBURG, N. C., Oct. 15.—In the largest vote ever recorded in a special election in North Carolina, citizens of this state ratified by 6 to 1 the Pearsall plan for dealing with school integration. Gov. Luther H. Hodges expressed his gratification that adoption of the plan "removes the question from the arena of politics." However, five days later a motion was filed in federal court challenging the proposed amendments to the state constitution as designed to nullify the laws of the United States. Proponents of the amendments, which provide for tuition grants for students in private schools and permit the closing of schools by popular vote in local units, insist they are intended for use only if the state's 1955 statute vesting authority in local boards to "assign" pupils proves "insufficient." However, that statute is now being challenged in a three-judge federal court. Questions by the judges in a recent hearing indicate that they may rule against the act's provision that recourse in the state's courts must be exhausted before appeal can be made to federal courts. Such a ruling would significantly shorten the "delaying action" provided in the assignment act.

University of North Carolina Now Racially Integrated

At the opening of the fall term two Negro freshmen were admitted at Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, and a Negro student entered Gaston Technical Institute. Thus all branches of the state's consolidated university are now desegregated. No difficulties have been reported. Meanwhile, 17 faculty members at Duke University divinity school have issued a statement calling attention to the fact that admission policies there are not in harmony with professed principles of the Methodist Church, with which the school is affiliated, and that the great majority of seminaries in both north and south are now nonsegregated. "We therefore wish publicly to affirm," said the teachers, ". . . our eagerness to admit suitably qualified students . . . without restriction of race. We look hopefully and prayerfully to the proper authorities of the university for enabling action pursuant to this end."

Challenge Ban on N.A.A.C.P. Membership

At Elloree, S. C., 18 Negro teachers challenged in federal court the law passed by the 1956 legislature forbidding the employment of members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by any state or local governmental agency. Acting under this statute, school officials circulated a questionnaire among Elloree teachers, 24 of whom refused to answer and were not re-employed. [See The Christian Century for Oct. 3, p. 1143.] The suit, scheduled to be heard Oct. 22, charges that the law infringes the rights of free speech and free association. Following the national political conventions, South Carolinians dissatisfied with the civil rights planks in both platforms presented petitions asking for a slate of unpledged electors in the presidential ballot. With 36,000 signatures, the petition met state requirements for such action. How these electors, if given a majority by the voters, will cast their ballots is not disclosed.

Presbyterians Advance Fund For New College

Trustees of the proposed consolidated Presbyterian college at Laurinburg heard a report that pledges of approximately $2 million have been secured in the state synod's drive for $3 million. The campaign is to be completed this year. Having purchased an 800-acre site for the new institution, the trustees are undertaking to select a president before making final decisions on plans for construction. Sites for the proposed Methodist colleges at Fayetteville and Rocky Mount have been selected. Baptists of eastern North Carolina, feeling the loss of Wake Forest College, which has moved to Winston-Salem, are seeking support of the state convention in establishing a new senior college and maintaining "two or more" junior colleges in the area. They also plan to establish a new hospital. A recent survey of 41 eastern counties shows 142 new Baptist churches organized in the past six years. Southeastern Baptist Seminary, which took over the plant vacated by Wake Forest, opened its first year of full operation with close to 600 students enrolled.

Methodists Postpone Their Headquarters Decision

The issue of whether to make the new Methodist building at Lake Junaluska in North Carolina's mountains the permanent headquarters of the World Methodist Council was intensified by the fact that North Carolina was voting on a plan to preserve segregation in its public schools the same week the headquarters question came up for debate at the World Methodist Conference, then in session at Lake Junaluska. [See The Christian Century for Oct. 3, p. 1140.] On motion of Charles C. Parlin, New York layman, the building was accepted as a depository for historical and research material, but the headquarters question was referred to the executive committee. At the end of the conference, the 2,000 delegates from 70 countries adopted a message pledging the church to work for a society in which "discrimination based on race or color will no longer exist." The conference brought to Methodists of the southeastern United States a sharp awareness of the world outreach of their church and of the problems it faces in the world of today.

Duke University Provides Current Religious Books for Pastors

Thanks to a service underwritten by two North Carolina families, hundreds of ministers throughout the country are receiving current religious books by mail every week from the lending library established at Duke University divinity school. The library has on hand 2,000 copies of about 750 titles on religion and related subjects. The only cost to the borrower is the return postage. Don Farris, director of the special library, reports that first preferences at present are for books by J. B. Phillips and books on the Dead Sea Scrolls. The service was begun through a gift in memory of George B. Ehlhardt, min-

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letters should be not more than 1,000 words long. Supporting documents, newspaper clippings, etc. may be supplied, but will become our property, and we shall have the right to make such use of them, including publication, as we may desire. All letters should be postmarked before midnight NOVEMBER 14, 1956 and should be sent to the American Traditions Project, Box 1803, Grand Central Station, New York City 17

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HENRY G. RUARK.

Food to Jamaica

C.W.S. Visitor Finds School Children Benefiting from S.O.S. Program

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, B.W.I., Oct. 4.—Frank Hutchison of the Church World Service office in New York came to the Caribbean area in mid-September to see how the United States Surplus Food Program is operating here, and to determine what further help his organization can give the people of this region. His schedule was a busy one. He was met at the Palisadoes airport Sept. 18 by representatives of church and state: Ivan S. Lloyd, Jamaica's minister of education and social welfare; Mayor Balfour Barnswell of Kingston; Cyril Dorsett, secretary of the Jamaica Christian Council; Edgar Williams, secretary of the C.W.S. surplus food committee; and this correspondent, president of the Jamaica Christian Council.

The next day Mr. Hutchison was invited by Gov. Sir Hugh Foot to a conference at King's House, then met Chief Minister Norman W. Manley. In the morning he met the U.S. consul and visited a school in the corporate area to watch U.S. surplus food being distributed as a supplement to the school lunch program. After lunch with the mayor and party, he conferred with Chief Education Officer G. V. Helwig and visited the storehouse in which the surplus food is kept. On Thursday, Dr. Hutchison was the chief speaker at a conference of the Jamaica Christian Council, and that night he preached to 1,200 at an inspiring service in St. George's Church, Kingston, with Gov. Foot reading the lesson and children of various schools taking part in the program. Earlier, he had watched distribution of U.S. surplus food at a rural school.

Program's Benefits Apparent

A general conference was held on Friday for representatives of the churches, agriculture, 4-H clubs, education, social welfare, the Red Cross, the women's federation, the Jamaica union of teachers, the U.S. consulate, local government units, the board of supervision, the sugar board and the Kingston charity organization society. Mr. Hutchison promised that the United States will send whatever food this country needs to help her poor and will continue to send food for the schoolchildren. Under the program already in operation 122,000 schoolchildren are getting butter, cheese and milk to supplement their midday meal five days a week for 40 weeks a year. Already the benefits of this program are showing up: the children are more alert mentally and in much better health than before the feeding was started, and average attendance at classes has risen.

Dr. Hutchison also visited Montego Bay, where he addressed a meeting in the mayor's parlor. During his short visit he left a lasting impression on our people, winning the hearts of government officials as well as of church representatives. He proved a true ambassador of good will from the United States to Jamaica.

R. O. C. KING.

Parish Succors Drug Addicts

Episcopal Mission Church Rehabilitates Persons Seeking to Break Away from Narcotics Yoke

CHICAGO, Oct. 17.—In his mission church in the heart of what has been called "Dopeville, U.S.A." on Chicago's south side, Robert Jenks, a young Episcopal clergyman, is combining the usual parish duties with an effort to rehabilitate dope addicts. Assisted by Eugene F. Carey, M.D., he has developed at St. Mark's Episcopal Church a technique similar to that employed by Alcoholics Anonymous. He is in contact with some 250 addicts, giving them secular and religious counsel. Often he recommends psychiatric and medical treatment to help them "kick the habit." Once he has persuaded an addict to stop taking narcotics, he begins a process of rehabilitation which involves helping the patient find employment, working out family adjustments and providing regular counsel to get to the roots of the individual's problem. Fr. Jenks feels that drug addiction is essentially a sickness stemming from emotional insecurity, instability and immaturity. His case studies show that 80 per cent of addicts come from broken homes. Fr. Jenks came to St. Mark's in 1953, shortly after graduating from Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Evanston and being ordained. His work with drug addicts is only a part of the parish's over-all program. To unite further the mission to the community, he sponsors a workshop in jazz, assisted by professional musicians. He also conducts a day camp which offers organized play, picnics, field trips and classes in religion.

Ukrainian Orthodox Meet in Chicago

The triennial sobor (council) of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. held at St. Vladimir's Church here Oct. 10-14 was attended by 115 clergymen and 200 lay delegates. The sobor observed the 35th anniversary of the founding of the all-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, which split from the Russian church in 1921 and declared itself self-governing. During the sessions Archbishop Mstyslaw S. Skrypnyk reported that refugees have established 22 new Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in this country since 1953. He lauded the refugees, most of whom had fled communist oppression in the eastern Ukraine, for their rapid progress in paying for parish buildings and organizing parochial schools. The church now has 96 parishes in the United States.

Research Chemist Enters Lutheran Ministry

A research chemist who worked for four years at Argonne National Laboratory near here has left to organize a Lutheran church in a Denver suburb. He is Harold R. Lohr, 34, who received his Ph.D. in chemistry from the University of California in 1950. "I feel that the role of clergyman is, for me, more important than that of scientist," Dr. Lohr explained. During Lent in 1954 Lohr, still a layman, was asked to give a sermon in Grace Lutheran Church in suburban La

Grange. That sermon, says Dr. Lohr, launched a chain of events which led him to enroll later that year in Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. He spent the past two summers continuing his research in calorimetry at Argonne. Now the Augustana Lutheran Church's Board of American Missions has assigned him to the Colorado parish to serve an internship before completing his divinity training. He will be accompanied to his new post by his wife and three sons.

Ministers Object to 'Too Rigid' Censorship

Resolutions criticizing as "too rigid" the censorship of motion pictures and comic books practiced in Joliet, Ill., have been adopted by the Will County ministers' association. The ministers deplore the trend censorship has taken in the area, particularly as exemplified in "limitation by a particular religious group" of motion pictures for public showing. They suggest that Joliet set up "voluntary control" of comic books rather than establish a censorship board. The city council is drafting an ordinance that would regulate newsstand sale of such reading matter.

Of Persons

Margery Peterson, group care consultant to the Minnesota department of public welfare, has been named to the staff of the National Lutheran Council's division of welfare, with headquarters in Chicago. She will be consultant for the eastern United States. Also in the Chicago office are Otto H. Dagerfoerde and George H. Back, who serve the far west and midwest areas respectively.

. . . Arthur W. Swann, for the past five years librarian at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, has resigned to become director of the Plymouth-Campbell Foundation on the University of Arizona campus and director of church school and youth activities at First Congregational Church, Tucson. . . . Kenneth Vincent, for eight years a missionary in Puerto Rico, has been assigned by the Congregational Christian Churches' Chicago city missionary society to work with Puerto Ricans newly arrived here. . . . Kendig Brubaker Cully, former Congregational minister who last year was ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church, is now professor of religious education at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Evanston. He and his family recently returned from spending seven months studying religious education activities in Europe.

And So Forth

Rep. William L. Dawson, Chicago's most prominent Negro Democrat, was shouted down and forced to leave the platform when he tried to make a campaign speech Monday to the Baptist ministers' conference of Chicago and vicinity. Present were nearly 600 ministers of the conference, representing 200,000 Negroes in their congregations. Rep. Dawson, who voted against the Powell amendment, told the clergymen that they should not interfere in the work of politicians on integration.

A program to provide pastoral care for youths released on parole from the Illinois State Training School for Boys who are without church preference or affiliation has been instituted by the Chicago church federation's youth service bureau. During the

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Alabama Tries to Halt Integration

Adopts 'Freedom of Choice' Amendment, Which Provides for Assignment of Pupils to Schools

TUSKEGEE, ALA., Oct. 16.—Determined efforts to maintain racial segregation continue in Alabama. At the polls in late August, voters approved a "Freedom of Choice" amendment to the state constitution, one that eliminates the constitutional requirement that public schools be segregated. It gives parents a choice of the racial type of school their children shall attend, subject to a state law giving school boards power to "assign" children to schools. In Mobile a furor was set off last month when Dorothy D. Daponte, a socially prominent white widow, attempted to enroll her 12-year-old Negro foster daughter in a white school. For the past two years the child had been at school in Europe. The school board rejected Mrs. Daponte's petition, and shortly afterward 100 men robed in white gathered on her lawn and burned a 10-foot cross. Mrs. Daponte later invited E. C. Barnard, Ku Klux Klan official who admitted that his group was responsible for the cross-burning, to discuss the matter with her, but received no answer. One outcome of the incident was a proposal by Rev. Albert S. Foley, a Spring Hill College professor, that Mobile adopt an ordinance to prohibit the burning of crosses. He said he was acting as a representative of the Alabama council on human relations.

Tensions Multiply in Mobile Area

Joshua Barney, a minister and the first Negro to file for a seat on the city council of Prichard, an industrial area of 20,000 adjoining Mobile, has refused to withdraw from the race in spite of threats on his life and the firing of shots into his home. In Toulminville, a Mobile suburb, a Negro family moved into a white section. But one night shotgun blasts were discharged into the house, and the next night the house was damaged by a fire believed to have been set by an arsonist. So the family moved away. That was last month. Early in October Toulminville property owners organized to resist future possible efforts of Negroes to move into white residential sections.

Klan Delegations Unwelcome At Local Churches

In Whistler, another Mobile suburb, about 100 men wearing white hoods and robes but no masks filed into a small Baptist church at the start of services last Sunday. They put contributions on the altar and departed after 10 minutes. Next day the Mobile Baptist pastors' conference adopted a resolution saying that its members welcome to their services people who desire to worship God "in sincerity and in truth," but do not welcome either the presence or the contributions of any group whose purpose in coming may be "to glorify itself and to secure for itself the sanction and approval of the church."

Segregation Party Announces Electoral Candidates

In an attempt to wrest electoral college votes from the two major parties, the new Segregation party of Alabama has entered a slate of 11 independent candidates for presidential electors in the November election. If successful, they would presumably unite their strength with that of other independent electors from the south to bargain with Democratic and Republican officials in the interest of segregation. . . . In rebellion against integration policies of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, several parent-teacher groups in the central part of the state have formed independent organizations. Until recently the national group urged efforts "toward integrated education for all children"; now its policy is to urge a "just solution to the complex problem" raised by racial integration. The change has been termed a "victory" by Mrs. J. H. Rutledge, president of the Alabama P.-T.A.

Controversy Over Negro's Rating Complicates Draft

Functioning of Selective Service throughout Alabama has been disrupted since the national director, Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, upheld Fred D. Gray, 25-year-old Negro minister and attorney active in the Montgomery bus boycott, in his appeal against being moved up from class 4-D to 1-A. Gray, who has figured in N.A.A.C.P. legal actions, had been classified 4-D because of his part-time pastoral duties. When he became active in the boycott he was classified 1-A. The local draft board, which has since resigned, contends that Gray was not preaching at the time it changed his classification. Several other local draft boards have resigned, declaring they will call up no more men until Gray is inducted.

And So Forth

Churchwomen from throughout the state met together last month in the seminar-retreat conducted at Camp Grandview by United Church Women of Alabama. While

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major attention was given to state and local projects, Christian world relations came in for considerable discussion.

Episcopal churches have been holding fall kick-off meetings on a district basis throughout the state. Emphasis in the Episcopal churches during October is on stewardship and education; in November it will be on corporate communion.

Bachman G. Hodge, a native Alabaman who has spent most of his ministry in Kentucky and Tennessee, is the newly elected bishop of the Alabama–West Florida area of the Methodist Church. He will supervise the interests of some 1,700 congregations with 700 ministers and 300,000 members.

Civic groups throughout Alabama are backing the proposed amendment to the state constitution which calls for a $4 million bond issue to provide much-needed improvements in our mental hospitals.

Clarence Williams, who has just retired as president of Civitan International, is the new lay leader of the Anniston Methodist district.

In the sudden death of Blount Davidson Sept. 23, Alabama's Baptists lost a valuable leader. Dr. Davidson had been superintendent of missions for the Montgomery Baptist association since 1945, and was engaged in preparation of many of the monographs which will appear in the coming *Southern Baptist Encyclopedia.*

Vigorous protest followed the plan of a brewing company to contribute $3,700 to Birmingham's Lane Park zoo. Three ministerial groups have publicly opposed the city's accepting funds from such a source.

Ernest E. Neal, since 1948 head of the rural life council, an extension division of Tuskegee Institute, has taken an extended leave of absence to serve as director of a rural development program in the Philippines.

VERA C. FOSTER.

Devise 'Values' Program

New York City Schools Are to Provide 'Moral and Spiritual' Elements

NEW YORK, Oct. 17.—Climaxing a year-long debate in which over 70 religious, parent-teacher and civic groups participated, the New York city board of education has unanimously adopted a statement providing for the teaching of moral and spiritual values in the public schools. Though the 20-page document does not spell out a teaching program, it says: "The attitude of the schools and teachers toward religion, religious ideals and practices should be one of friendliness. The schools should acknowledge the influence of religion and religious ideals upon Western civilization, upon America's social and political institutions and ideals, and upon the development of moral and spiritual values." The statement adds that the child learns these values through the example of the teacher, through the methods, materials and activities utilized in instruction, and through the content of the various subjects in the curriculum.

Original Statement Aroused Many Protests

The statement adopted by the board is a revision of one approved by the school superintendents in June 1955. The original document met strong objections from various teacher and religious groups (among them the New York teachers' guild [A.F.L.–C.I.O.] and the American Jewish Congress), but was heartily approved by the Roman Catholic archdiocese, a number of interdenominational Protestant groups, the teachers' alliance, and various parents' associations and American Legion posts. The objectors to the 1955 statement declared that it violated the constitutional principle of separation of church and state by bringing religious values into teaching and that its adoption might lead to indoctrination of pupils in specific religious beliefs. The teachers' guild contended that it would "logically and inevitably lead to a religious test for teachers." "How else could there be a guarantee that belief in God and the supernatural would be taught sincerely?" it asked. One of the major revisions in the 1955 document was deletion of the name of God from many paragraphs. Shortly after the board adopted the new statement, the united parents' association asked that teachers and supervisors be instructed not to act as "missionaries for their own religious beliefs" when putting the "moral and spiritual" stipulation into practice.

Business Machines Come to Aid of Scholars

A process developed by International Business Machines' world trade corporation and Roman Catholic scholars that may revolutionize the field of scholarly research and compilation was revealed in a recent article in the *New York Times.* At Gallarate, just outside Milan, Italy, 10 men have spent the past year reducing the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas to thousands of coded cards and reels of magnetic tape. By early 1959 they will have indexed the complete works in six related concordances. The bulk of the work will be done in Italy. Then the reels of tape will be brought to New York and the final coding done by a machine "that fills a ground floor of the I.B.M. building." Without the new process the project would have required the work of 50 men over 40 years. The same treatment is to be given to five of the Dead Sea Scrolls. That project will take 16 weeks, with the final two hours' work done by the giant data-processing machine here.

Manhattan Gets First New Protestant Church in 16 Years

Contracts for construction of the first new Protestant church to be erected in Manhattan in 16 years have been signed in city hall. Nondenominational DeWitt Church will also be the first Protestant edifice in a Manhattan housing project; it will rise in the heart of Baruch Houses, one of the largest low-cost housing developments on the lower east side. Two other housing projects are near by. The two-and-a-half story modernistic building will cost about $360,000. It will house a congregation sponsored by the New York city missionary society which has served a multiracial community for the past 75 years. During that period its services have been conducted in German, Italian, Russian, Polish, Chinese, Spanish and Yiddish as well as English. Since its former home was razed last spring to make way for a portion of Baruch Houses, the congregation has worshiped in a near-by settlement house. Services in the new church will be conducted in English, Spanish and Russian.

DONA HUTSLER.

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